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The History Of England From The Revolution To The Death Of George The
Second ; (Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

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FROM
THE REVOLUTION
TO
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. VI.

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M D C C C I I I

THE
HISTORY
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BOOK III.

CHAPTER VI.

§ I. *Motives of the war in Germany. Conspiracy in Sweden. II. Measures taken by the King of Prussia and Elector of Hanover. III. Endeavours of the court of Vienna to frustrate them. IV. His Prussian Majesty demands an explanation from the Empress-Queen. V. Her answer. VI. The Prussian army enters Saxony, and publishes a manifesto. Prince Ferdinand takes Leipzick. VII. King of Prussia takes possession of Dresden, and blocks up the King of Poland at Pirna. VIII. Prussian army penetrates into Bohemia, and fights the battle of Lowoschutz. IX. Saxon army surrenders. X. King of*
VOL. VI. B

2 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Poland's memorial to the States-General. XI. Imperial decrees published against the King of Prussia. XII. Declarations of different powers. XIII. His Prussian Majesty's answer to the Saxon memorial. XIV. And justification of his conduct. XV. Remarks on both those pieces. XVI. Disputes between the parliament of Paris and the clergy. XVII. Dearth of corn in England. XVIII. Hanoverian auxiliaries sent back. XIX. Session opened. XX. Debates on the address. XXI. Bill passed for prohibiting the exportation of corn. Message to the House concerning Adm. Byng. XXII. Supplies granted. XXIII. Reflections on the continental war. XXIV. Messages from the King to the parliament. XXV. Measures taken to remove the scarcity of corn. XXVI. Militia-bill. XXVII. Petitions for and against it. XXVIII. Altered by the Lords. XXIX. Bills for quartering the foreign troops; and for regulating the marines while on shore. XXX. Bill for the more speedy recruiting the land-forces and marines. Act relating to pawnbrokers and gaming-houses. XXXI. Laws relating to the wages of weavers, and to the improvement of the British fishery. XXXII. Act for importing American iron, duty free. XXXIII. Regulations with respect to the importation of silk. XXXIV. Smugglers encouraged to enter into his Majesty's service. XXXV. Inquiry into the scarcity of corn. XXXVI. Investigation of the loss of Minorca. XXXVII. Examination of the American contract. XXXVIII. Inquiry into the conduct of Adm. Know-

les, as governor of Jamaica, XXXIX. Resolutions concerning Milford-haven. XL. Session closed. XLI. Trial of Adm. Byng. XLII. Recommended to mercy. XLIII. Message from the King to the parliament, respecting the sentence. XLIV. Bill to release the members of the court-martial from their oath of secrecy. XLV. Execution of Adm. Byng. XLVI. Paper delivered by him to the Marshal of the Admiralty. XLVII. Remarks on his fate.

HAVING thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great-Britain was concerned either at home, or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then seemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannic Majesty to provide for the safety of his electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foresaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He at that time stood upon indifferent terms with the King of Prussia, who was considered as a partisan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists. In this emergency, he had recourse to the Empress of Russia, who in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England

C H A P.

VI.

1756:

4 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

B O O K
III.
1756.

engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of Hanover. His Prussian Majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries: a declaration which probably flowed from a jealousy and aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburg, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risk of being restricted or controlled. He knew he should give umbrage to the French King, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia: but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connexions with France for an alliance with Great-Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed, such an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration. Had his Britannic Majesty made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the Czarina, he did not know how soon the King of Prussia might be reconciled to his most Christian Majesty's design of invasion. As for the Empress-Queen, her attention was engrossed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands so full, that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and

firmest allies. In these circumstances the King of England sought and obtained the alliance of Prussia; which, to the best of our comprehension, entailed upon Great-Britain the enormous burden of extravagant subsidies, together with the intolerable expense of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage either positive or negative to England or Hanover. On the contrary, this connexion threw the Empress-Queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she bought at the expense of the Barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labor, by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes; sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run, and subdued by the enemy: and the King of Prussia put to the ban of the Empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the resolution which his Prussian Majesty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall presently explain. In the mean time, the defensive treaty between the Empress-Queen and France was no sooner ratified, than the Czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg, to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the Empress of Russia accordingly embraced: a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the Marquis de L'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador

CHAP.

VI.

1756.

6 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK

III.

1756.

extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence; but their Catholic and Sardinian Majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality. At the same time, intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavours succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign. At present a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the King or Queen was at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish Majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the Diet, that he threatened to resign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This design was extremely disagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the Diet, by whom they conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

§ II. The King of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the House of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the Empire, by a forced election of a King of the Romans. The

cry of religion was no impolitic measure ; but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past. Religion was made a pretence on both sides : for, the partisans of the Empress-Queen insinuated , on all occasions , that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia. It was in consequence of such suggestions , that his Britannic Majesty ordered his electoral ministers at the Diet to deliver a memorial to all the minister, at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty he had concluded with the King of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the Empire ; that as he had been denied, by the Empress-Queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance ; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the Empire, who even seemed disposed to favor such a diversion ; he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the Empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the King of Prussia : that, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the Empress-Queen, and performed the part which the head of the Empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted : that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the Empress-Queen to engage in a

C H A P.

VI.

1756.

8 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK
III.
1756.

strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the Empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

§ III. The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge. His most Christian Majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprise the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression upon the King of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose. What his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally,

it must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword, and commencing hostilities. The Empress-Queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions, secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslaw, which she had in no particular contravened. She caballed against him in different courts of Europe: she concluded a treaty with the Czarina, which, though seemingly defensive implied an intention of making conquests upon this monarch: she endeavoured to engage the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbour of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns, to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburgh, though it was expressly defensive; the *Casus Foederis* being his Prussian Majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, that Count de Bruhl, prime minister and favorite of the King of Poland, had in conjunction with some

C H A P.

VI.

1756.

BOOK

III.

1756.

of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the King of Prussia with the Empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

§ IV. His Prussian Majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negotiations with different powers in Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the Imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war, on the frontiers of Silesia, were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial Majesty? To this demand the Empress replied, that in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The King, far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, That after the King had dissembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honor, the bad designs imputed to the Empress would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments: that he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburg; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support; that he constituted the Empress arbiter of peace or war: if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she

had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witness, that the Empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

§ V. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her Imperial Majesty, whose answer he soon received, to this effect: That his Majesty the King of Prussia had already been employed for some time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her Majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian Majesty had been made; that though her Majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare, with her own mouth to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that, in other respects, they tended to the prejudice of no person what soever: that her Imperial Majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times and likewise that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger: her declaration was so clear,

C H A P.

VI.

1756.

BOOK

III.

1756.

she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practice the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility the contents of the memorial now presented by M. de Klingraafe; so extraordinary, both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents: nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian Majesty of an offensive alliance against him subsisting between herself and the Empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged, for no such treaty did exist, or even had existed. She concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her Imperial Majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or at least not suitable to the purposes of the King of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the Empress-Queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian Majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded,

on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the Empress-Queen had no intention to violate, But, before an answer could be delivered, the King had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna believing that the King of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere: being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themselves under further restrictions; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risk of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the course of the war for that part of Silesia which the Queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslaw.

§ VI. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the King of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm first fell upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was connected with the Czarina and the Empress-Queen, therefore, he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing, that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against

BOOK III.
1756. his Majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects, that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his Majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony: but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity; had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the defence and security of his subjects. He reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the Elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprises, had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated: but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish Majesty, or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies; and he had taken care that they should observe the best order, and the most exact discipline: that he desired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him, the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish Majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred depositum. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the King of

Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose. But these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian Majesty's disposition or design. Even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, took possession of Leipzig on the twentieth day of September. Here he published a declaration, signifying, that it was his Prussian Majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that Electorate as if they were his own subjects; and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the King of Prussia: then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

§ VII. The King of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Koenigstein, which was intrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the King of Poland repaired, with his two sons Xaverius and Charles; but the Queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of this capital his Prussian

CHAP.

VI.

1756.

B O O K Majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on
 111. the eighth day of September, when he was visited by
 1756. Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court,
 accompanied by the Count Salmour, a Saxon minister,
 who in his master's name, proposed a neutrality. The
 King of Prussia professed himself extremely well plea-
 sed with the proposal; and, as the most convincing
 proof of neutrality, desired the King of Poland would
 separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to
 their former quarters. His Polish Majesty did not like
 to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended
 for his own safety more upon the valor and
 attachment of his troops thus assembled, than upon
 the friendship of a prince who had invaded his domi-
 nions, and sequestered his revenue without provoca-
 tion; and he trusted too much to the situation of his
 camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In
 the mean time, the King of Prussia fixed his head-
 quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league
 distant from Pirna, and posted his army in such a
 manner as to be able to intercept all convoys of provi-
 sion designed for the Saxon camp: his forces extended
 on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the
 vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the
 circles of Satzer and Leutmeritz in that kingdom;
 while Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a
 body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this
 last place without opposition. At the same time the
 King covered his own dominions, by assembling two
 considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia which
 occupied the passes that communicated with the
 circles of Buntzlau and Kœnigsgratz. Hostilities were
 commenced

commenced on the thirteenth day of September by a detachment of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escorte to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of loaded wagons. The magazines at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the King of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the Countess Moczincka; and gave orders that the Queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due veneration and respect: even while the Saxon camp was blocked up on every side,

CHAP.

VI.

1756.

His Majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish Majesty's Queen, and the court of Vienna, who affirmed, that sentinels were posted within the palace where the Queen and royal family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited. The keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the King of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the Queen entreated this prince to remove the sentinels posted within the palace, and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the King ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her Majesty the keys of the secret cabinet. The Queen obtained this officer's consent, that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her Majesty, placing herself before the door, said, she trusted so much to the promise of the King of Prussia, that she could not believe

BOOK

III.

1756.

he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested for the use of his Polish Majesty.

§ VIII. During these transactions the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Mareschal Keith², who reduced the town and palace of Teschen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Auffig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by Count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian Majesty having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of Mareschal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from

he had given such orders. The officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the King with what had passed, her Majesty conjured the ministers of Prussia and England to remind his Majesty of his promise, but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person. The Queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew: the doors were forced, the chests broke open, and all the papers seized.

² Brother to the Earl Marischal of Scotland, a gentleman who had signalized himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his genius, than amiable in his disposition.

whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse, but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon. There being formed, and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars and other bodies of infantry from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed: but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the King ordered them to reascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence

BOOK

III.

1756.

they no more advanced. In the mean time a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides with considerable effect. At length the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and, in all likelihood, would have miscarried, had not Veldt-Mareschal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand, that all their powder and shot was exhausted; he turned immediately to them with a chearful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy could not withstand them at push of bayonet; so saying, he advanced at their head, and driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire. Their infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra. Some prisoners, colors, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both sides; and the loss of each might amount to two thousand five hundred killed and wounded: so that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares that the King of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head-quarters at Lowoschutz: whereas the Austrian gazette affirms, that the Mareschal Count Brown obliged his Prussian Majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian Majesty,

who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

§ IX. The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish Majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensibly necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the King of Prussia. The former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with Count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected. On the fourteenth day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Kœnigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, that they made little progress. Next day when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Kœnigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the King of Poland, from the fortrefs of Kœnigstein, sent a letter to his general, the Veldt-Marschal Count Rutowski, vesting him with full and

BOOK

III.

1756.

and discretionary power to surrender, or take such other measures as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers'. By this time Count Brown had retired to Budin, so that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion: and the soldiers were afterwards, by compulsion, incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The King of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety, and retired with all

The letter was to the following effect:

" Velt-Mareschal Count Rutowski,

" IT is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation, which a chain of misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army: but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand by Major-General the Baron de Dyhern, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances become more necessitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; such I will live; such I will die; and I will both live and die with honor. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion. Let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine. May your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity: whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them: and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Mareschal, in his holy keeping. Given at Koenigstein, the 14th of October, 1756.

" AUGUSTUS, Rex, "

To the Veldt-Mareschal the Count Rutowski.

expedition to Poland. His Prussian Majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the Count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

CHAP.

VI.

1759.

§ X. The King of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States-General, complaining, that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independency. He observed, that, from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm resolution in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality. He represented, that a free and neutral state had been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who disguised himself under the mask of friendship, without alledging the least complaint, or any pretension whatsoever; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some, and fortifying others: that he had disarmed the burghers; carried off the magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous

B O O K

III.

1756.

contributions of provisions and forage ; seized the coffers , confiscated the revenues of the electorate , broke open the arsenals , and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh ; abolished the privy-council , and , instead of the lawful government , established a directory , which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to understand , that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reserved for a queen , whose virtues ought to have commanded respect , even from her enemies ; that , from the hands of that august princess , the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences , notwithstanding the security which her Majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws , human and divine ; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the King of Prussia , that not only her person , and the place of her residence , should be absolutely safe , but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction. He observed , that a prince who declared himself protector of the protestant religion had begun the war , by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment , and the preservation of its most invaluable rights : that he had broke through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanic body , under color of a defence which the Empire stood in no need of , except against himself : that the King of Prussia , while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend , demands his army , the administration of his dominions , and , in a word , the sacrifice of his whole

electorate; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to alledge even any pretext, to color the usurpation of his territories and revenues — Though this was certainly the case, in his Prussian Majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied, in a subsequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the King of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to the treaty of Petersburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

§ XI. While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three Imperial decrees were published against his Prussian Majesty: the first, summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: the second, commanding all the vassals of the Empire employed by the King of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the Empire to suffer any levies of soldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian Majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the King of England, to excite in the Empire a religious war, which might be favorable to their particular views, his most Christian Majesty, in

[BOOK III. 1756.] consequence of his engagement with the Empress-Queen, and many other princes of the Empire, being resolved to succour them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body. On the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the diet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden, for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing upon him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole Empire.

§ XII. About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his mistress, importing, that her Imperial Majesty having seen a memorial presented at the court of Vienna by the King of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian Majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the Empress-Queen; in which case, she (the Czarina) was inevitably obliged to succour her ally with all her forces; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march: that, moreover, the Russian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a sufficient number of gallies for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The ministers of the Empress-Queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States-General and his Britannic Majesty, demanding the succours which these two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the

treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their High Mightinesses kept warily aloof, by dint of evasion, and the King of Great-Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The Dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the King and Queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger. The Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles; and directions were dispatched to the French minister at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the Emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French King, regulating the succours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body, as guarantee of the pragmatic sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

§ XIII. The King of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction. He affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions; that they had spared neither

B O O K

III.

1756.

malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his Majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He said, he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions: that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increase the number of his enemies. He asserted, that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation: that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all possible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline: that all due respect was shown to the Queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the Paper Office, of which his Prussian Majesty already had copies; and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied. He observed that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that

neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favor.

§ XIV. But the most important step which his Prussian Majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian Majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan upon which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the success of the campaign in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz while the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croissen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for

CHAP.

VI.

1796.

BOOK

III.

1756.

a treaty of this nature : yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed : but this last thought it necessary , in the first place , to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the Empress - Queen and the Czarina. Accordingly , these two powers did , in fact , conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburg in the course of the ensuing year : but the body or ostensible part of this treaty was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public six secret articles , the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia , according to the exact copy of it , which appeared among the documents. In this article , the Empress - Queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation , that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden : but explains her real way of thinking upon the subject , a little lower , in the following terms :
 “ If the King of Prussia should be the first to depart
 “ from this peace , by attacking either her Majesty
 “ the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia , or
 “ her Majesty the Empress of Russia , or even the
 “ republic of Poland ; in all these cases , the rights
 “ of the Empress - Queen to Silesia and the county
 “ of Glatz would again take place , and recover
 “ their full effect : the two contracting parties
 “ should mutually assist each other with sixty thousand men to achieve these conquests.” The King observes upon this article , that every war which can arise between him and Russia , or the republic of Poland , would be looked upon as a manifest

infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the King lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorized to do in such cases, would be to send those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence, on that account, to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the King: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the King of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the King to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his Majesty and Russia by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alledged that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburgh with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia; and to join in the

BOOK
III.
1756.

regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the King of Prussia the Empress-Queen should, by their assistance, not only re-conquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds, the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the Empress-Queen. He also declared that Count Lofs, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negotiation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipstick, signed on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negotiation, that the King of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted, that even in this case the King of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian Majesty. He likewise acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risk; and the advantages to be gained should be secured
in

in its favor: circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from Count Fleming to Count de Bruhl, informing him that Count Uhlefeld had charged him to represent a-fresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the King of Prussia: that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements upon the footing proposed by the late Count de Harrach, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; a step which might be taken on occasion of his Polish Majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburgh. The answer of Count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, That the King of Poland was not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the court of Vienna about succours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his Majesty. He quoted other dispatches to prove the unwillingness of his Polish Majesty to declare himself, until the King of Prussia should be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premises he deduced this inference, that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had

B O O K

III.

1756.

only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risk, concur in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he said, the Austrian and Saxon ministers labored in concert and underhand with the more ardor, to bring the *Casus Fæderis* into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorize the Empress-Queen to retake Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the King with the Empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his Majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the Czarina; sometimes views upon Poland, and sometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the Empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, she had resolved to attack the King of Prussia, without any further discussion, whether he should fall upon any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him: a resolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued, under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the King of Prussia.

§ XV. This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian Majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partisans of her Imperial Majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices. The Empress-Queen and the Elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbour: but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures. Perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and, therefore, not binding against the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the King of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch: and, in all probability, the King of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great

BOOK

III.

1756.

sums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorized by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear that his Prussian Majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify. By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the Empire with ruin and desolation; and the King of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former animosities, and every consideration of that balance which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction. The King himself could not but fore see this confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided so much in the number, the valor, and discipline of his troops: in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her assistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the Empress-Queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the empire. He saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great-Britain. Thus the

King of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the Empress-Queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his Prussian Majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

§ XVI. About the latter end of November the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring a-fresh the assistance of the Empire. The King of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding succour of the several states, agreeably to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden: but the minister of Mentz, as director of the diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for further instructions. In the mean time, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to intimate to the King and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissension between the clergy and parliament, touching the bull *Unigenitus*. The King being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received

CHAP.

VI.

1756.

BOOK a brief from the Pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way to damnation: and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniences with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The King, dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris: and next day the King repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests; the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull Unigenitus.

§ XVII. In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the

millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

§ XVIII. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great-Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the inn-keepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter-quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigor of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences; an humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

§ XIX. On the second day of December, his Majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England.

BOOK

III.

1756.

He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great-Britain. He declared that the succour and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigor and dispatch. He said an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all ground of dissatisfaction from his people: for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence, of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the Empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in

Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and realm. He told the Commons that he confided in their wisdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honor of his crown; therefore, they could not on his part fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

§ XX. The King having retired from the house of Peers, the speech, was read by the Lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that House; then Earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his Majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session. They said they wished to see

BOOK
III.
1756.

the present address unanimously agreed to by the Lords; a satisfaction they could not have, if such a paragraph should be inserted: for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but also furnished the court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack; besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph was approved by a great majority.

§ XXI. In the address of the Commons no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the Speaker had recited his Majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the House unanimously agreed, and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the House, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence suitable to such an assembly, resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his Majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that so much distressed the poorer class of people. A bill was immediately framed, to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities

to be exported from the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. At the same time, Vice-Admiral Boscawen, from the board of Admiralty, informed the house, that the King and the board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as Admiral Byng was then a member of the House, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of Admiralty thought it a respect due to the House to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said Admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the House in relation to Rear-Admiral Knowles^{*} was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

^{*} Rear-Admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the first day of October in the preceding year, between a British Squadron under his command, and a Squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his Squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion he

BOOK

III.

1757.

§ XXII. The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his Majesty to maintain the war with vigor. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea-service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land-service forty-nine thousand seven hundred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the Ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his Majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia; for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign armies, as ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motion of the squadron intrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article. — The court, therefore, unanimously adjudged that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition

well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows: for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aid, or supplies to be granted in this session, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year; for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova-Scotia; for repairing and finishing military roads; for making good his Majesty's engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for the expense of marching, recruit- to the measures taken by the head of the Empire, who, in the sequel, stigmatized those two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an out-law.

This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community; but since the liberality of parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented, without question or limitation, the yearly expense hath swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated. Instead of an asylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for economy and convenience, standing on the north-side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation. The hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

ting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain, for empowering his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his Majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for such services, as, with the approbation of his Majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigor against the enemy; for enabling the East-India company to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two Houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster⁷. Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred

⁷ The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament. It was built at the public expence, from the neighbourhood of Westminster-Hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

and twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence. It must be acknowledged for the honor of the administration, that the House of Commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit. The sums granted by the committee of supply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand five hundred and one pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds, ten shillings, and four pence; an excess which was thought necessary, in case the lottery which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

§ XXIII. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea, and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependants of the ministry; who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great-Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they

BOOK

III.

1757.

replied, that every state, in assisting any ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that if the King of England enjoyed by inheritance, or succession, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great-Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain that they suffered for their connexion with England. They observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were secured by the constitutions of the Empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great-Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, and not only draw her sword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that, exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred since the accession of the late king had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms: that, since Hanover was the favorite object, England would save money, and great quantities of British blood, by allowing France to take possession

possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain; an expedient that would be productive of another good consequence; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigor, in order to avoid the detested neighbourhood of such an enterprising invader.

§ XXIV. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his Majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal secretary of state; a gentleman who had, upon sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the House an intimation importing, It was always with reluctance that his Majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequence; and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his Majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the King of Prussia, his Majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they would chearfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian Majesty, for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the Emperor and all the princes in Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and they will, no doubt, be surpris'd, that Great-Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succour, whatever assistance he might demand. The King's message met with as favorable a reception as he could have desired. It was read in the House of Commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipotentiaries at Westminster: the request was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his Majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the seventeenth day of May, by Lord Bateman, intimating, That, in this critical juncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his Majesty was, therefore, desirous that the House would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs

might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like message being at the same time communicated to the Upper House, their lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the Commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

§ XXV. We have already observed, that the first bill which the Commons passed in this session, was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn, but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported: as also permitting, for a certain time, all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great-Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state in amity with his Majesty, either into Great-Britain or Ireland; and for exporting

B O O K

III.

1757.

from Southampton or Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters. The Commons would have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow-creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a subsequent report of the committee, the House resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill, formed on this resolution, was in embryo, a petition was presented to the House by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they, therefore, prayed, that, in regard to the public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public loss, and relieving their

particular distress. The House would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous opposition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery, consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. If they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh day of December, with a proviso, empowering his Majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

§ XXVI. The next bill that engaged the attention of the Commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia was a very popular and

B O O K

III.

1757.

desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the Commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth; though some acquiesced in the scheme, who were not at all hearty in its favor. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by Colonel George Townshend, eldest son of Lord Viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endued with penetration to discern, and honesty to pursue the real interest of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia-forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the House, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependance.

§ XXVII. While the militia-bill remained under consideration of the House, a petition for a constitutional and well regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the King's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled. At the same time remonstrances were

offered by the protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury; the dissenting ministers of Devonshire; the protestant dissenters, being freeholders and burgeses of the town, and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it might be proposed to enact, that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than the declaration of such a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the House paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working-days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgeses of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchises, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

§ XXVIII. After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the Lower-House, and was

BOOK

III.

1797.

sent to the Lords for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the Commons had proposed; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvassed in the Lower-House, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: at length, however, the two Houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the Lords could have made no amendment: in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the House of Peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the Commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they could with more certainty compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they insisted upon the scheme's being executed in its full extent. They were eager to seize this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and, therefore, they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

§ XXIX. The next measure that fell under the consideration of the House was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and inn-holders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favor of those foreigners. It was entitled, "A bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom." prepared by Lord Barrington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Solicitor-General, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny-act, with this material difference: it empowered the Admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner, as his Majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

§ XXX. The same favorable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his Majesty's land-forces and marines, a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs,

B O O K

III.

1757.

were empowered to meet by direction of the Secretary at War, communicated in precepts issued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual place of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officer, as, by notice from the Secretary at War, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session. The next law enacted was for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are intrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in public houses. By this a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner^s. With

^s It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labor; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publicly in the house of correction, or such other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry; that a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel intrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent upon it,

respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans suffering journeymen, laborers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard-tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress.

CHAP.

VI.

1757

§ XXXI. Divers inconveniences having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the House of Commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the Commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woollen-manufacture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the peace to make rates for the payment of wages'. — The Commons were not and restore the goods: that upon oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and upon refusal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, interest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years should be forfeited and sold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

' It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, in the year one thousand seven

B O O K

III.

1757.

more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigor, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of free British fishery presented a petition, alleging, that they had employed the sum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds, eight shillings, and six-pence, together with the entire produce of their fish, and all the monies arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the further assistance of parliament. They prayed, therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fishery-acts, they were then bound to carry: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in hundred and fifty-seven, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established; but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not the payment thereof in any other manner than in money: and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

the fishery, might be increased; and for as much as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any further sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any further sum in the undertaking, that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing-seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expense and loss of time; and while the war continued durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy: that, ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery-society had applied to the House for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbel-town, in Argyleshire, might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter-fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage.

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring-fishery: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing-seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbel-town would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. This last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

§ XXXII. Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great-Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and inquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant-adventurers in the city of Bristol alledged, in a petition to the House of Commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great-Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron

was exported again to Africa and other places; and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation; but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that, by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted: but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the outports prevented from employing it in their export-commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great-Britain, duty free, by all his Majesty's subjects. This request being re-enforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm; and in divers counter-petitions specified many ill consequences which they alledged would arise from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question, and violent disputes were kindled upon this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thousand

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

tons of iron : that as the mines in Great - Britain are inexhaustible , the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free : a supposition which had prevented the traders from extending their works , and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic : they alledged that the iron-works already carried on in England occasioned a consumption of one hundred and ninety - eight thousand cords of wood , produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands , which could not otherwise be turned to any good account : that as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground , the pasture is more valuable with the wood , than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up ; consequently , all the estates where these now grow would sink in their yearly value : that these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron-works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber-trees, so necessary for the purposes of building. They asserted, that neither the American iron , nor any that had yet been found in Great-Britain , was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden , particularly that sort called ore ground ; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain , nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden , furnished with sufficient quantities of wood , and rivers for mills and engines , it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal

metal of the same quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia. They inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great-Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edge-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much as, to put a stop in a little time to all the iron-works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favorers of the bill solicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbours of Great-Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of materials,

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron: that being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron-mines in Great-Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded: that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labor of all kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own slaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase-money, because when one of them dies, or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal: that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great-Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, especially in

time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expense of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber-trees would produce considerable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron-mine in Great-Britain, no coppices would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord-wood; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting hath become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length Mr. John Pitt reported to the House their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his Majesty's reign, for importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great-Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed. The House having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands, in

B O O K the west-riding of Yorkshire, alledging that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free would
III. be attended with numberless ill consequences both
1757. of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass they might be delivered from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions. In consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry the Eighth as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both Houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the House presented an address to his Majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, each year being distinguished.

§ XXXIII. From this important object, the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a

much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the public were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike-roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper which at that time raged among the horned cattle. A third arose from the distress of poor silk-manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting, through the interruption of the Levant-trade, occasioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant-ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the Custom-House of London, wheresoever landed: but that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy; nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithstanding several petitions presented

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

B O O K
III.
1757.

by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy; as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

§ XXXIV. The next civil regulation established in this session of parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperadoes concerned therein from inlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been paid or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some

commissioned officer of his Majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favor of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity. Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his Majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The proposal was corroborated by divers petitions: the bill was prepared, read, printed, and after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the House of Lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament.

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

§ XXXV. The House of Commons being desirous of preventing for the future such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and it was resolved that all who attended the committee should have voices. Having inquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in, to explain and amend the laws against

BOOK
III,
1757.

regraters, forestallers, and engrossers of corn. The committee also received instructions to inquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel, but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation, for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-ashes, alum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of King William the Third, entitled. "An act to
" punish governors of plantations, in this kingdom,
" for crimes committed by them in the plantations." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but before the bill could be brought in the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXXVI. But no step taken by the House of Commons, in the course of this session, was more interesting to the body of the people than the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamor. By addresses to the King, unanimously voted, the Commons requested that

his Majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the Admiralty, or any others of his Majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his Majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the first day of August, 1756. They likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his Majesty's ships in the several ports of Great-Britain at the time of Admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the Admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and bor'n on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that Admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state, or lords of the Admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

squadron. His Majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the House, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House. In the course of their deliberations they addressed his Majesty for more information, till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burden of papers as the efforts of a whole session could not have properly removed. Indeed, many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the inquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole House. They observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner: that the names of the committee ought to have been published, for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged with some certainty whether the inquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required. They suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole House was a mal-contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation, to introduce confusion and contest, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the inquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation,

to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people. A select committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honor of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house. Indeed, it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occasion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, as in times past evil ministers have generally found means to render such inquiries ineffectual; and the same arts would, at any rate, have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the committee, that his Majesty, from the twenty-seventh day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the twentieth day of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French King intended to invade his dominions of Great-Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion,

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

BOOK
III.
1757.

that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of Admiral Byng; nor any greater re-enforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his Majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects. It must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves, yet the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great-Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised. The number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to two hundred and fifty, having on board fifty thousand seamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French design upon Minorca had been conveyed to the ministry of England, about six months before it was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates, to save the important island of Minorca? Is it easy to

conceive, that from a standing army of fifty thousand men one regiment of troops could not have been detached to re-enforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend? To persons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the Admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh day of August, by Consul Banks, of Carthagen; confirmed by letters from Consul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-sixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, secretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege, when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, consisted of two ships of the line, and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops, were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till Admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth day of April, with no more ships of the line than, by the most early and authentic

BOOK intelligence, the government were informed would
III. fail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have
1757. been joined by Commodore Edgecumbe; a junction
upon which no dependence ought to have been laid;
that this squadron contained no troops but such as
belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except
one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless
we include the order for another to be embarked at
Gibraltar, which order was neither obeyed nor un-
derstood: that, considering the danger to which
Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the
enemy's preparations at Toulon, Admiral Osborne,
with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who
returned on the sixteenth of February, after having
convoyed a fleet of merchant-ships, might have been
detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast
of Great-Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this
squadron, there were eight ships of the line and
thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two
ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped:
that Admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of
the line and one frigate to cruise in the bay of Biscay,
after repeated intelligence had been received that the
French fleet had sailed for the West-Indies, and the
eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were
in want of hands and cannon, so that they could
never serve to cover any embarkation or descent,
consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have
been spared for the relief of Minorca: that, instead
of attending to this important object, the Admiralty,
on the eighth day of March, sent two ships of the
line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy

off Cape Barfleur: on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting of Cherbourg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to re-enforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great-Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularized and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually sent with Admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending thither re-enforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortrefs of Mahon.

§ XXXVII. The next inquiry in which the House

B O O K of Commons engaged related to the contracts for
III. victualling the forces in America, which were sup-
1757. posed by some patriots to be fraudulent and uncon-
 scionable. This suspicion arose from an ambiguous
 expression, on which the contractor being interro-
 gated by the committee appointed to examine the
 particulars, he prudently interpreted it in such a
 manner as to screen himself from the resentment of
 the legislature. The House, therefore, resolved that
 the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth day
 of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred
 and fifty-six, by the commissioners of the Treasury,
 with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard
 Baker, of London, merchants, for furnishing pro-
 visions to the forces under the command of the Earl
 of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and pro-
 perly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual
 supply for those forces in America.

§ XXXVIII. The preceding session an address
 had been presented to the King by the House of
 Commons, desiring his Majesty would give orders
 for laying before them several papers relating to dis-
 putes which had lately happened between his Excel-
 lency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the prin-
 cipal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica. This gover-
 nor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbi-
 trary acts, during the course of his arbitration: but
 these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power
 which was in itself laudable, and well intended for
 the commercial interest of the island. This was his
 changing the seat of government, and procuring
 an act of assembly for removing the several laws,
 records,

records, books papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers, to keep their offices, and hold a supreme court of judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of government. Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance; whereas, Kingston was the centre of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour, filled with ships, well secured from the insults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flourishing. Here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow upon the island. They found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish-town, which stands at a considerable distance, and the same inconvenience and expense being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law, or attend the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting, that in consideration of these inconveniencies, added to that of the weakness of Spanish-town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed. He complied with their request, and in so doing entailed upon himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted. This seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamor incurred by Mr. Knowles, against whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England,

BOOK
III.
1757.

and presented to his Majesty. In the two sessions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the House of Commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colors, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined. M. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole House. In the mean time, petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore, praying that the purposes of the act passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in such manner as the House should think proper. The committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing, that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great-Britain: that the six last resolutions taken in the

assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the King's instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his Majesty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, Vice Admiral Knowles, whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature. The parliament, however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish-town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

CHAP.
VI.
1757.

§ XXXIX. The last subject which we shall mention, as having fallen under the cognizance of the Commons during this session of parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbours in Great-Britain. Here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It

BOOK

III.

1757.

might be fortified at a very small expence, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward, for from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape-Clear when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort, and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very useful sea-intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented, and recommended to the House, in a message from the King, specifying the advantages of this harbour, and the small expence at which it might be fortified, and praying that the House would take this important subject into consideration. Accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the House by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his Majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbour on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant-ships, and sending out cruisers: that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated, and if properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those im-

portant purposes : they , therefore , humbly besought his Majesty , that he would give immediately directions for erecting batteries , with proper cover , on the sides of the said harbour , in the most convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberstone-road , and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour , and that , until such batteries and fortifications could be completed , some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbour ; finally , they assured him the House would make good to his Majesty all such expenses as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception , and a promise that such directions should be given. The harbour was actually surveyed , the places were pitched upon for batteries , and the estimates prepared , but no further progress hath since been made.

§ XL. We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session , except what relates to the fate of Admiral Byng , which now claims our attention. In the mean time , we may observe , that on the fourth day of July the session was closed with his majesty's harangue , the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned upon his royal assurance , that the succour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care , and , next to the security of his kingdoms , should continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had taken such measures as , he trusted , by the blessing of God , might effectually

C H A P.

VI.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts ; that he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments , to preserve tranquillity , as far as the circumstances of things might admit ; to prevent the true friends of Britain and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

§ XLI. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on Admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honor by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services, by the title of Lord Viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father's profession ; and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ship St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets on the twentieth day of May last, did

not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize and destroy the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's-castle. They, therefore, unanimously agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time and on board of such ships as the lords commissioners of the Admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of officers who were near the Admiral's person, that no back-wardness was perceivable in him during the action nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage, and from other circumstances they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection, they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The Admiral himself behaved through the whole tryal with the most chearful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied.

BOOK. Even after he had heard the evidence examined
 III. against him, and finished his own defence, he laid
 1757. his account in being honorably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might summon all his fortitude to his assistance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The Admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder either then or in the court, when the sentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

§ XLII. The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of Admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph: —
 “ We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds
 “ before your lordships on this occasion, in finding
 “ ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man
 “ to death, from the great severity of the twelfth
 “ article of war, part of which he falls under, which
 “ admits of no mitigation if the crime should be
 “ committed by an error in judgment; and, therefore,
 “ fore, for our own consciences sake, as well as in

“ justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships,
“ in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to
“ his Majesty’s clemency.” The lords of the Admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the King, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his Majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the Admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. At the same time, copies of two petitions from George Lord Viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman Admiral Byng, were submitted to his Majesty’s royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favor, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation: but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land: sullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the sovereign was given to understand that the execution of Admiral Byng was a victim absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people. His Majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the Admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy-council to the Admiralty,

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

their lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader¹⁰.

¹⁰ Admiral F——s's reasons for not signing the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution:

"IT may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In the case before us, it is not the merit of Admiral Byng that I consider: whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motive for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

"The twelfth article of war, on which Admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says (according to my understanding, of its meaning) 'That every person, who, in time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.' The court martial does, in express words, acquit Admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence, for wilful negligence, in Admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes: besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named,

§ XLIII. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in case of blood.

“Admiral Byng’s fate was referred to a court-martial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his Majesty for mercy; it is evident, then, that, in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

“The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court-martial determine Admiral Byng’s fate? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death, because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence! I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of Admiral Byng’s deserts: that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience: which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt, and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal Admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men’s opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire or wish is that I may not be misunderstood; I do not pretend to judge Admiral Byng’s deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

“Signed, 6th Feb. 1757, at the Admiralty. “J. F—S.”

B O O K

III.

1757.

that should be thought inconsistent with law. A member of parliament, who had sat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the House of Commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature, to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper. Although this application produced no resolution in the House, the King, on the twenty-sixth day of February, sent a message to the Commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the House had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his Majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examinations of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples, and that his Majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination, that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and, at the same time, very severe, according to the maxim, *summum jus summa injuria*. In such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigor of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the case of Admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury, a species of

intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favorable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience, in behalf of a man whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation. At present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach upon the privileges of the House.

§ XLIV. The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the Lower-House without opposition: but in the House of Lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They sent a message to the Commons, desiring them to give leave that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that House might attend their lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly, they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hesitation. As they did not insist upon any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for showing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion

BOOK for passing any such bill, which, therefore, they
 III. almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to con-
 1757. ceive what stronger reasons could be given for
 proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy than those
 mentioned in the letter sent to the board of Admiralty
 by the members of the court-martial, who were
 empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently
 must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

§ XLV. The unfortunate Admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last, nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the Admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the Admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that

his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

§ XLVI. Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. The sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the Admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamor and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think

CHAP.

VI.

1757.

B O O K me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last
III. moment, that I know my own innocence, and
1757. am conscious that no part of my country's mis-
 fortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the
 shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness
 and service of my country, but cannot resign my just
 claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to
 the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of
 my ability for his Majesty's honor, and my country's
 service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not
 attended with more success, and that the armament
 under my command proved too weak to succeed in
 an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed
 over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped
 off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of per-
 sonal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My
 heart acquits me of these crimes: but who can be pre-
 sumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my
 crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion
 from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment
 should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do, and
 may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their
 consciences, which in justice to me they have repre-
 sented, be relieved, and subside as my resentment has
 done. The Supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives,
 and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

§ XLVII. Notwithstanding all that has been said
 in his favor, notwithstanding the infamous arts
 that were practised to keep up the cry against him,
 notwithstanding this solemn appeal to heaven in his
 last moments, and even self-conviction of innocence,
 the character of Admiral Byng, in point of
 personal

personal courage, will still with many people remain problematical. They will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British Admiral had been properly exerted the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits, and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembles, with surprising industry, every favorable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complection, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever consequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonorable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain. The people of Great-Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions, which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.



CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the administration.* II. *Obliged to resign.* III. *Restored to their employments.* IV. *Coalition of parties.* V. *Descent on the coast of France meditated.* VI. *Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land-forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet sails September 8.* VII. *Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix.* VIII. *Attack and surrender of Aix.* IX. *A descent resolved on.* X. *The fleet returns to Spithead. His Majesty appoints a board of inquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return.* XI. *Proceedings of the court of inquiry.* XII. *Its report.* XIII. *Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.* XIV. *Fleets sent to the East and West-Indies.* XV. *Success of the English privateers.* XVI. *Riots occasioned by the high price of corn.* XVII. *Operations in America.* XVIII. *Lord Loudoun's conduct in America.* XIX. *Fort William Henry taken by the French.* XX. *Naval transactions in America.* XXI. *Attempt of Mr. de Kerfin on Cape-coast castle in Africa.* XXII. *State of affairs in the East-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The Suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him.* XXIII. *Reduction of Chandernagore.* XXIV. *Colonel Clive defeats the Suba at Plaissey, who is afterwards deposed and put to death.* XXV. *King of France assassinated. Tortures inflicted on the assassin.* XXVI. *Changes in the French ministry.* XXVII. *State of the confederacy against the King of Prussia.* XXVIII. *Precautions taken by his Prussian Majesty.* XXIX. *Skirmishes between*

the Prussians and Austrians. XXX. Neutrality of the Emperor, and behaviour of the Dutch. XXXI. The French take possession of several towns in the Low-Countries belonging to the King of Prussia. XXXII. Declaration of the Czarina against the King of Prussia. Factions in Poland. XXXIII. Fruitless endeavours of the English to restore the tranquillity of Germany. XXXIV. King of Prussia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians at Reichenberg. XXXV. King of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague. Marschal Schwerin killed. XXXVI. Prague invested. XXXVII. And bombarded. Brave defence of the besieged. XXXVIII. Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army. His character. XXXIX. King of Prussia defeated at Kolin. XL. He raises the siege of Prague, and quits Bohemia. XLI. Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army assembles under the Duke of Cumberland. XLII. Skirmishes with the French. XLIII. Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser. The French follow him, and take Minden and Embden, and lay Hanover under contribution. XLIV. Battle of Hastenbeck. XLV. The French take Hamelen. Duke de Richelieu supercedes Marechal d'Etrées in the command of the French army. XLVI. The French take possession of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel. XLVII. And reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland signs the convention of Closter-Seven.

§ I. **T**HOUGH the parliament of Great-Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands

CHAP.

VII.

3757.

H 2

BOOK

III.

1757.

of government, for a vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages; which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigor in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego, and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great-Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the Exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honorable though subordinate offices.

§ II. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and

abilities they had the most perfect reliance: but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country. The new ministers combated in council every such plan, however patronized; they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the sovereign. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candor with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his Majesty's inclination. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect: on the ninth day of April Mr. Pitt, by his Majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern

BOOK

III.

1757.

department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the King was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the Exchequer to the right honorable Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of King's-Bench, the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of Admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

§ III. What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonor, and reduced her to the verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice

of a faction long support it against the united voice of Great-Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign. It was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honor of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the King, ever ready to meet half way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honor of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his Majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June, and five days after the office of chancellor of the Exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

§ IV. It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the House of Commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only

BOOK

III.

1757.

means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his Majesty's privy-council, on the thirteenth day of June: the custody of the privy-seal was committed to Earl Temple: his grace the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, Lord Viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer: Lord Anson, Admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of Admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster general of all his Majesty's guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and the Earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the King's household, and sworn of his Majesty's privy-council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favor distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted. Ingredients seemingly heterogeneous consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

§ V. The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprise, which

should at the same time produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian Majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace. A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it was thought, would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favor of the Prussian monarch and the Duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent. His royal highness the Duke in a particular manner urged the necessity of some enterprise of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of Admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

§ VI. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval

BOOK

III.

1757.

armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavorable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honor. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the

fleet, but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochefort or Rochelle.

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

§ VII. On the twentieth the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basqueroad, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, Captain Howe, and Torbay, Captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his Majesty's ships into danger.

§ VIII. While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful

B O O K had there ever been occasion to put them in execution.
III. On the twenty-third the van of the fleet, led by Cap-
1757. tain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half-finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but Captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was intrusted to Vice-Admiral Knowles.

§ IX. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed a happy omen of further advantages; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the King's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a sixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This a French

pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, Vice-Admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The Admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled, for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed, and now they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land-officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and chusing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurs of an incensed nation, and

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

B O O K

111.

1757.

the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

§ X. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was porportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expense before they had obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves and fix the accusation, by requesting his Majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to inquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the public clamors, and afford general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to his prejudice, but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his

reputation by a mock-armament, or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate Admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publicly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the Isle of Oleron as occasioned the Admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque-road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his Majesty's orders, "To attempt, " as far as should be found practicable, a descent " on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in " order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, " force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the

BOOK " utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arse-
 III. " nals, and shipping, as shall be found there ?" Such
 1757. rumors as these, every where propagated, rendered
 an inquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the
 officers on the expedition than to the minister who
 projected it. Accordingly, a board, consisting of
 three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was
 appointed by his Majesty, to inquire into the rea-
 sons why the fleet returned without having executed
 his Majesty's orders.

§ XI. The three general-officers, who met on the
 twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, Duke
 of Marlborough, lieutenant-general, Majors-general,
 Lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To
 judge of the practicability of executing his Majesty's
 orders, it was necessary to inquire into the nature of
 the intelligence upon which the expedition was pro-
 jected. The first and most important was a letter sent
 to Sir John, afterwards Lord Ligonier, by Lieutenant-
 Colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently ex-
 amined in the privy-council, and contained in sub-
 stance, that Colonel Clark, in returning from Gib-
 raltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and
 fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of
 France, to observe the condition of the fortifications,
 and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in
 case of a rupture between Great-Britain and France.
 On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended
 by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest
 part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked on-
 ly with redans; no outworks, no covered-way, and in
 many places no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was
 seen

CHAP.

VII.

1757.

seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even intrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side appeared, and on the land-side he observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town, in which condition the Colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the Colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the Colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that Colonel Clark made

B O O K

III.

1757.

his observations in time of peace, but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council. This person declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the King's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne: the channel between the islands Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the *Magnanime* alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under

cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. He said great part of the city was encompassed by a wall, but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was enclosed only with pallisades, without a fossé. To the intelligence of Col. Clark and Thierry the ministry added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux. In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and Admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his Majesty's arms. The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

found the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty - ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty - fifth and twenty - eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty - seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty - ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his Majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort he understood was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main* or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his Majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered; particularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which Colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared

as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used: after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his Majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather, and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

§ XII. Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave in the following report to his Majesty: " — It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is the not

B O O K

III.

1757.

attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your Majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by Admiral Hawke (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of Vice-Admiral Knowles, that the *Barfleur*, the ship designed for that service, was aground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Rear-Admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable or practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your Majesty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first

resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your Majesty's command. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your Majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition, since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth.

§ XIII. This report, signed by the general officers Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people were still his advocates, they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the

BOOK

III.

1757.

commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigor, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his Majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His Majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued by several adjournments to the twentieth. Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, That he being appointed by the King commander in chief of his Majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France,

and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his Majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his Majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate Admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service by his sovereign.

§ XIV. Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West-Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his Majesty's arms in the East-Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the ninth of February Admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war

BOOK to the westward, as did Admiral Coates with the
III. fleet under his convoy to the West-Indies, and
1757. Commodore Stevens with the trade to the East-Indies in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and Commodore Holms, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The Admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of General Hopson, assisted by Lord Charles Hay. In May Admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

§ XV. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholic Majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East-India Company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed

hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the Admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the Duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave Capt. Lockhart, for which he was honored with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

§ XVI. Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties,

BOOK

III.

1757.

sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labor at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his Majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits-fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk-manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships

to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valor; and the company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage. His Majesty having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchant-men, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his Majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant-ships taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

§ XVII. Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters

CHAP.

VII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favor. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back-settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood creek, and filled it with logs. Every person the least acquainted with the country readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our

fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

§ XVIII. In the mean time Lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown-Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Hallifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported

B O O K

III.

1757.

by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Hallifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigor, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg to France was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully apprized of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. This resolution seems,

seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief.

§ XIX. Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigor and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the mainland, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, re-enforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Halifax, and

B O O K

III.

1757.

fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George: it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of General Webb, posted at no great distance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to Colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. “ A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the Sieur

“ Funtbrune one of my aides-de-camp. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm.” Gen. Webb beheld his preparatious with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general’s designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigor, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm’s promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender, while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that General Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles

500 K of capitulation signed by both parties. It was stipu-
 111. lated, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and
 1757. the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out
 with their arms, the baggage of the officers and sol-
 diers, and all the usual necessaries of war; escorted by
 a detachment of French troops, and interpreters at-
 tached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should
 be delivered to the troops of the Most Christian King,
 immediately after signing the capitulation; and the
 retrenched camp, on the departure of the British for-
 ces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and
 in general every thing, except the effects of the sol-
 diers and officers, should, upon honor, be delivered to
 the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed
 there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an
 exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars
 specified: that the garrison of the fort, and the troops
 in the retrenchment and dependencies, should not
 serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date
 of the capitulation, against his Most Christian Majes-
 ty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should
 be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying
 the names of the officers, engineers, artillery-men,
 commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and
 soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made pri-
 soners by land since the commencement of the war in
 North-America, should be delivered in the space of
 three months at Carrilon; in return for whom an equal
 number of the garrison of Fort William-Henry should
 be capacitated to serve, agreeably to the return given
 by the English officer, and the receipt of the French
 commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered:

that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic Majesty : that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm ; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered : that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops : that in testimony of his esteem and respect for Colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine ; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity. Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under protection of the French escort. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left

C H A 2.

VII.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

§ XX. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on Lord Loudoun's departure from Hallifax, Admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruise might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the Admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength, while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French Admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he

immediately made the best of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being re-enforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg: but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship *Tilbury* was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavorable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother-country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the

BOOK uncertainty whether their services were to be re-
III. warded or condemned. Their attachment to par-
1757. ticular persons weakened the love they ought to
 have entertained for their country in general, and
 destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and
 resolution which constitutes the commander, and
 without which the best capacity, joined to the most
 uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

§ XXI. The French King not only exerted him-
 self against the English in America, but even ex-
 tended his operations to their settlements in Africa,
 which he sent one of his naval commanders, with
 a small squadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whose
 name was Kerfin, had scoured the coast of Guinea,
 and made prize of several English trading-ships: but
 his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast,
 of which had he gained possession, the other subor-
 dinate forts would have submitted without oppo-
 sition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle,
 received intelligence that M. de Kerfin was a few
 leagues to windward, and certainly intended to at-
 tack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed
 thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto sol-
 diers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a
 barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were
 so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion
 of the best engineers, they could not have sustained
 for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship,
 had it been properly directed and maintained.
 In these circumstances, few people would have drea-
 med of making any preparation for defence; but
 Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted
 himself with equal courage and discretion. He

forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a re-enforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery, and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began, but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favor of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kerfin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt: but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast castle by the vigorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the Negroes settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold

BOOK

III.

1757.

Coast would have revolted from the British interest: for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependants, with a present of refreshments for their commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kerfin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land; but, understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

§ XXII. In the East-Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honor and advantage of Great-Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left Admiral Watson and Colonel

Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river; next day Colonel Clive landed, and with the assistance of the Squadron, in twenty four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January the Admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemies guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigor and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his Majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, a abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the Nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of

BOOK

III.

1757.

Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the Admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the Admiral for a re-enforcement; and six hundred men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great number of draft-bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the Nabob into concessions much to the honor and advantage of the company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform. The Suba desired the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm and granted by the Mogul: that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty:

that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the Nabob's own hand.

§ XXIII. Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the Suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence. Nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised

BOOK

III

3757.

among the favorites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counter-working those intrigues, and keeping the Suba steady to his engagements, the Admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive being re-enforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the Admiral. On the eighteenth of March the Admirals Watson and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land-side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham, of the Tiger, and in the afternoon

Golonel Clive, with the King's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head-settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

§ XXIV. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigor and spirit which deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they

BOOK

III.

1757.

found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops, under M. de Buffy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts from time to time sent them intelligence of every transaction in the Suba's cabinet, and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigor in their military operations. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the Viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The
same

same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled or the Nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to ensure success. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malecontents for their defection from the Viceroy. These previous measures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to re-enforce the Colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the Suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the Colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence he crossed the

BOOK

III.

1757.

river, and marched to Plaiffey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at day-break, the Suba advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependence. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning, but a severe shower falling at noon they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breast-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded their left wing, forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The Colonel pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob; accordingly, the Colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as Suba, or Viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia. Soon after, the late

Viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of Admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel-coast. The Admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam

BOOK
III.
1757.

were surrendered to the French, a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

§ XXV. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and fullness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the King was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife

on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His Majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessaries to the design upon the King's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest, was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Conciergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains.

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

The torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, and we consider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour, during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon attending declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were separated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh: a thigh and an arm were separated, and, after several pulls,

the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favorable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the King's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

§ XXVI. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismissal was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French King, to show the Queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the House of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation, under whom

CHAP
VII.
1757.

B O O K
III.
1757.

served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empress-Queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow by which they hoped to crush the King of Prussia might likewise force his Britannic Majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the Imperial army of execution, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the King of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries¹; whilst a detachment from d'Etrées's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

¹ The King of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

§ XXVII. At the close of the last campaign, the King of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the Imperialists under the command of Marefchal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His Majesty and Marefchal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and Marefchal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the Emprefs-Queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the King of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the Czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched above a hundred thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army assembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of four score thousand men, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marefchal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian Majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering

C H A P.
VII.
1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join in the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenburgh took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the King of Prussia, he was, in his quality of Elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the empire by the aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution.

§ XXVIII. In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The King of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to

his enemies , by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions , his Prussian Majesty , to guard as much as could be against every possible event , sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel , with three regiments of his troops , to re-enforce the garrison of that place. He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia , and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Neiss , where he settled with Marechal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed , that the marechal's army in Silesia , which consisted of fifty thousand men , should have in constant view the motions of the royal army , by which its own were to be regulated , that they might both act in concert , as circumstances should require. At the same time , other armies were assembled by the King of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland ; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw , on the frontiers of Bohemia , towards Egra , under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau ; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz , where their head-quarters were settled. In the mean while , the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony , where some of their detachments appeared , to watch the motions of the Prussians , who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat , in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison,

B O O K
III.
1757.

the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Kœnigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the Countess of Ogilvie, one of the Queen's maids of honor, had disobeyed his Majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the Queen's intercession, afterwards released. The Countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian Majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying, that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The Count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the Prince Royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his Majesty. The King of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipstick were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

§ XXIX. While the King of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February

a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field-pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the Prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiani, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

§ XXX. Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Britain,

BOOK

III.

1757.

still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this crown : for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his Imperial Majesty, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alledging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the governor prudently replied, That as they came in under English colors he would protect them; and forbid the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart. — The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions,

ammunition , and artillery belonging to this new army ; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance , and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their High Mightinesses declared they would observe , yet , after some hesitation , the demand was granted ; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops , should it be attempted by force , pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

§ XXXI. Scarce had the French army, commanded by the Prince de Soubise , set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne , when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark , where all things were left open to them , the Prussians , who evacuated their posts , taking their route along the river Lippe , in order to join some regiments from Magdeburgh , who were sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants , thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy , were instantly ordered to furnish contributions , forage , and provisions , for the use of their invaders ; and , what was still more terrifying to them , the partisan Fischer , whose cruelties , the last war , they still remembered with horror , was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the Empress - Queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French : Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate : and the city of Gueldres was besieged , the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place ; to which end they opened the sluices , and laid the country under water. Those who retreated , filing off to the north west of Paderborn , entered the county of Ritberg , the property of Count

B O O K Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the Empress-
III. Queen. After taking his castle, in which they found
1757. thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the Empress-Queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under Prince Soubise, was appointed at Neufs, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April. The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marechal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koenigskratz; reviewed the army of the late Prince Piccolomini, now under the command of General Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

§ XXXII. During the recess of the armies, while the rigors of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigor, Count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, "That the Empress of Russia was extremely affected with the King of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the King of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of

of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause: not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the King of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour: that with this view, the Empress was determined to assist the King of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march², under the command of General Apraxin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial Majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She further recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the King of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention others of a more pri-

² This letter was written in December; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

B O O K

III.

1757.

vate nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the Prince Czartorinski and Count Mniscz. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, Great-Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honorable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the Empress-Queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the King of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the

British ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the Empress, purporting, "That her Imperial Majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her Imperial Majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the King of Prussia more blamable."

§ XXXIV. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian Majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia to

BOOK

III.

1757.

enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by Marechal Keith; the second was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau, the third by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, and the fourth by Marechal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, Marechal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without any resistance. The Prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottaw and Grafenstein, without the loss of a single man: drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cohlin, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse

prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by Count Kœnigslegg, and posted near Reichenberg. As soon as the troops were formed they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had intrenched themselves. But the Prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Mœllendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and possessing the intrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Putkammer and Major Schoenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst General Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

BOOK
III.
1757.

forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded, among the former were General Porporati and Count Hohenfels, and among the latter Prince Lichtenstein and Count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns and about a hundred men were killed, and sixteen officers and a hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Mareschal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the King of Prussia's army, then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague: and his Prussian Majesty having passed the Egra, his army, and that of Mareschal Schwerin, were so situated as to be able to act jointly.

§ XXXV. These advantages were but a prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the King himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The

enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been re-enforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the Duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Marechal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the King of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river in the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under Marechal Schwerin and the Prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked.

BOOK
VII.
6615.

The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the King of Prussia took the enemy in flank, Marechal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me." Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardor abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Marechal Swerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar. Mean while the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves

masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act, Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Prince of Bevern, signalized themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the King with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valor on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Marechal Brown, but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under Marechal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amstel, the Prince of Holstein-Beck, the Colonels Goltze and Manstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roke. Among the latter,

B O O K
III.
1757.

the Generals Winterfeld, de la Mothe, Fouquet, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last was Mareschal Brown, who received a wound, which from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance, by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the Empire.

§ XXXVI. The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the King commanding on one side, and Mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Aremberg, Count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the

Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post, but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the King's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the Prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against Marechal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter

BOOK

III.

1757.

of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of a hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's

battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musquetry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the Red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters, and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the King of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

§ XXXVII. The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries, erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable, houses, men, and horses wrapped

BOOK

III.

1757.

in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian Majesty with all the opportunities he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants, the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement that constitutes the military art to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms, but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian Majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well-conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful. The only advantage resulting from them was the perpetual alarm

in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

CHAP.

VII.

1757.

§ XXXVIII. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the Empress-Queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror, a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the Queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed, the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians, the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, Count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favorite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate

B O O K of Austria and the empire. Born of a noble family,
 III. he relied solely upon his own merit, without soli-
 1757. citing court-favor; he aspired after the highest pre-
 ferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior
 worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern
 was slow and silent: his promotion to the chief com-
 mand was received with universal esteem and ap-
 plause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious,
 he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern
 Hannibal, to check the fire and vigor of that monarch
 by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Ar-
 riving at Böemischbrod, within a few miles of Pra-
 gue, the day after the late defeat, he halted to col-
 lect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the
 Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so
 considerable as to attract the notice of his Prussian
 Majesty, who detached the Prince of Bevern, with
 twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack
 him before numbers should render him formidable.
 Daun was too prudent to give battle with dispirited
 troops to an army flushed with victory. He retired
 on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing,
 and took post at Kolin, where he intrenched himself
 strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of
 recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison
 of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being
 soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp,
 divided the Prussian force, by obliging the King to
 employ near half his army in watching his designs, wea-
 kened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy
 by cutting off their convoys, and restored, by degrees,
 the

the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardor and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action until the Prussian vigor should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms, and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian Majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days, but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the Count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to sixty thousand men, were deeply intrenched, and defended

B O O K

III.

1757.

by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian Majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding thirty-two thousand men.

§ XXXIX. On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin until his Majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the King, elated with success, impetuous in his valor, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that

courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight, and his Majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly re-enforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the King's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the King's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardor to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill

BOOK

III.

1757.

and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valor, and oblige them to retreat. The King then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian Majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and Count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian Majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his Majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

§ XL. When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburgh, his Majesty, leaving the command with the Prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the King's defeat. Thus terminated the

battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian Majesty were in some measure atoned by the candor with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Mareschal³, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the King highly blamable for checking the ardor of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests,

C H A P.
VII.
1757.

³ “The Imperial grenadiers, says he, are an admirable corps; one hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honor to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops, and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of their's. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.—Success, my dear lord, often occasions a destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better.—What say you of this league, which has only the Marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great Elector would be surpris'd to see his grand-son at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and a hundred thousand French auxiliaries—I know not whether it would be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me.”

B O O K

III.

1757.

over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empress-Queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the Imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented Count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital, but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The Prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburgh, where he joined the Prince of Bevern, and Marechal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before, of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, Prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no further mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with inexpressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the King of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

§ XLI. Having thus described the progress of the

Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of these twenty-six thousand were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburghers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. The King of England having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals appointed to command the several divisions repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted

B O O K
III.
1757.

at Bielefeldt, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General de Haufs, near Nienburgh. The head-quarters of his Royal Highness were at Bielefeldt.

§ XLII. In the mean time, the French on the Lower-Rhine continued firing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the Elector of Cologne. On the other hand, Colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Tecklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon,

having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and at the same time Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to re-enforce that post. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckenburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by Major-General Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's re-enforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant-Colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raised corps of hunters.

§ XLIII. The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; and, in the mean time, the troops that

BOOK

III.

1757.

were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuyfen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the Duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after his Royal Highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness re-assembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only part of a magazine, which had been set on fire. By this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses. However, on the tenth of June their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of

the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought adviseable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the Duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related: — Mareschal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden, and Lieutenant-General Marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the sixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven;

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the intrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The Marechal having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his intrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for his army, and came down the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the Duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The Marechal having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gunshot of the abbey, where the Viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglie and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These two generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under the command of the Marquis d'Auvel: and, after taking

possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the King of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence, but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French King.

§ XLIV. On Sunday the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when Major-General Fustenburgh, who commanded the outposts in the village, sent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. His Royal Highness immediately re-enforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by

C H A P.

VII.

1757.

B O O K
III.
1757.

the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the Duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his Royal Highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He, therefore, resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his Royal Highness had a battery of twelve pounders and haubitizers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-General Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his Royal Highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment

to be rendered impassable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-posts, and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; his Royal Highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, Count Schulenberg to be re-enforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field-pieces of cannon, and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of Major-General Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve and six pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light he mounted on horse-back to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his Royal Highness ordered Major-General Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood,

BOOK

III

1757.

if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness. The fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his Royal Highness detached the Colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his Royal Highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from

from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburgh, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Bredenback attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies, in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

§ XLV. The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the Duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of

B O O K war. Whether the court of France had any reason to
 111. find fault with the conduct of the Marechal d'Etrées,
 1757. or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the
 councils of his favorite, the Marquise de Pompadour,
 who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who
 had been one of the chief instruments of her high pro-
 motion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his
 shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to
 her own already immense treasures, we shall not pre-
 tend to determine; though the event seems plainly to
 speak the last. Even at the time no comparison was
 made between the military skill of the Marechal
 d'Etrées, and that of the Duke de Richelieu; but,
 however that may have been, this last, who, if he
 had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled
 all, or at least most of his contemporaries in the more
 refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle
 we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede
 the former in the command of the French army in
 Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of
 August, with the title of marechal of France; and
 M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

§ XLVI. Immediately after the battle of Hasten-
 beck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand
 men to lay under contribution the countries of Ha-
 nover and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the
 duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after
 the arrival of this new commander, the Duke de
 Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to
 take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of
 governor of that city. He accordingly marched thi-
 ther; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison

was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Göttingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, a hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

§ XLVII. The Duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburgh, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached Lieutenant-General Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenburgh. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August; and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately

CHAP.

VII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburgh, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selfingen, where his head-quarters were, on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly, his Royal Highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost: but as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war then in that river could have been of no service to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the King of Denmark, by his minister the Count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven*, by which thirty-eight

* This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect.

“ HIS Majesty the King of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has

thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

CHAP.

VII.

1757.

always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the Count de Lynar. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, general of the King of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish Majesty, respectively engaged their word of honor to the Count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the Count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the King his master's intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the Count de la Lippe-Buckburgh, shall be sent home: and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them by his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his

B O O K

III.

1757.

forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his Majesty the King of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility: nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe: and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer sent from the Hanoverian army the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the place of their destination; his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts, for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight - and - forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the 10th instant to Bremerworden, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his Majesty the King of Denmark's guarantee, which the Count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

CHAP.
VII.
1757.

Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

UPON the representation made by the Count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented that the country of Lunenburgh cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish Majesty, gives his consent, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste; provided always that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is par-

BOOK

III.

1757.

ticu'arly guaranteed by the Count de Lynar in the name of his Danish Majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight-and-forty hours, agreeably to the convention, his Excellency the Marefchal Duke de Richelieu hath fignified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremer-worden, begin their march to retire in four-and-twenty hours after figning the convention. The time neceffary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the refpective limits, fhall be fettled between Lieutenant-General Sporcken, and the Marquis de Villemar, firft lieutenant-general of the King's army.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *The French enter the Prussian dominions, where they commit great disorders.* II. *Reflections on the misconduct of the allied army.* III. *Russian fleet blocks up the Prussian ports in the Baltick.* IV. *Russians take Memel.* V. *Declaration of the King of Prussia on that occasion.* VI. *Army of the Empire raised with difficulty.* VII. *The Austrians take Gabel.* VIII. *And destroy Zittau.* IX. *The Prince of Prussia leaves the army.* X. *Communication between England and Ostend broke off. Gueldres capitulates.* XI. *Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians. And between the Prussians and Russians.* XII. *Mareschal Lehwald attacks the Russians in their intrenchments near Norkitten.* XIII. *Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia.* XIV. *French and Imperialists take Gotha.* XV. *Action between the Prussians and Austrians near Gærlitz.* XVI. *The French oblige Prince Ferdinand to retire.* XVII. *Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians; and Leipzick subjected to military execution by the Prussians.* XVIII. *Battle of Rosbach.* XIX. *The Austrians take Schweidnitz; and defeat the Prince of Bevern near Breslaw.* XX. *Mareschal Keith lays Bohemia under contribution. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Lissa; retakes Breslaw and Schweidnitz, and becomes master of all Silesia.* XXI. *Hostilities of the Swedes in Pomerania.* XXII. *Mareschal Lehwald forces the Swedes to retire.* XXIII. *Memorial presented to the Dutch by Col. Yorke, relative to Ostend*

and Nieuport. XXIV. King of Prussia's letter to the King of Great-Britain. His Britannic Majesty's declaration. XXV. Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven. XXVI. Progress of the Hanoverian army. XXVII. Death of the Queen of Poland. Transactions at sea. XXVIII. Fate of Captain Death. XXIX. Session opened. XXX. Supplies granted. XXXI. Funds for raising the supplies. XXXII. Message from the King to the House of Commons. XXXIII. Second treaty with the King of Prussia. XXXIV. Bill for fortifying Milford-Haven. Regulations with respect to corn. XXXV. Bills for the encouragement of Seamen, and for explaining the militia-act. XXXVI. Act for repairing London-Bridge. XXXVII. Act for ascertaining the qualification of voting. XXXVIII. Bill for more effectually manning the navy. XXXIX. Amendments in the Habeas-Corpus-act. XL. Scheme in favor of the Foundling-Hospital. XLI. Proceedings relative to the African company. XLII. Session closed. XLIII. Vigorous preparations for war. Death of the Princess Caroline. XLIV. Sea-engagement off Cape François. Remarkable success of Captain Forest. XLV. French evacuate Embden. Success of Adm. Osborne. French fleet driven ashore in Basque-road. XLVI. Adm. Broderick's ship burnt at sea. XLVII. Descent at Cancalle-bay. XLVIII. Expedition against Cherbourg. XLIX. Descent at St. Maloes. L. English defeated at St. Cas. LI. Captures from the enemy. LII. Clamors of the Dutch merchants, on account of the capture of their ships. LIII. Their famous petition to the States-General.

§ I. **T**HE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the King of Prussia by this treaty, Marechal Richelieu immediately ordered Lieutenant-General Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the Prince de Soubise: the gens d'armes, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Marechal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled a hundred and ten battalions, and a hundred and fifty squadrons, with a hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttel, he entered the King of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have connived. In the mean time, the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

§ II. Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbuttel, Halberstadt, and Magdeburgh, it might have waited securely under the

B O O K

111.

1757.

cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces ; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienburgh, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxchude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of a hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about a hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety. By this unaccountable conduct, the King of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the Duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Prussia under Marschal Apraxin and General Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled

cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslaw: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of Prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their king harassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the Empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his

CHAP.

VIII.

1757

BOOK
III.
1757.

enemies ; who collected the public revenues , fattened on the contributions , and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests , defrayed the expenses of the war ; and by the convention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever , excepting what the British parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the King of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony ! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events , of the situation of his Prussian Majesty , and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists , and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses , it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies , as well during his stay in Bohemia , as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

§ III. Whilst the King of Prussia was in Bohemia , the Empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships , That if any of them were found assisting the Prussians , by the transportation of troops , artillery , and ammunition , they should be condemned as legal prizes : and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates , with two bomb-ketches , was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltick , where it took several ships of that nation , which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandise from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel , a town of Poland , but subject to Prussia , the commandant sent an officer to the captain , to know whether he

came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation the Russian captain replied, That, notwithstanding the dispositions of the Empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruise. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

§ IV. The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were designed really to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered: and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honors of war, after having engaged not to serve against the Empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

§ V. His Prussian Majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest, published the following declaration: — “ It is sufficiently known, that the King of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the Imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian Majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning Empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the King, his Majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favoring the schemes of Austria. His Majesty hath given
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the whole world incontestible proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the King hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him. His Majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the Imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise. The King did more: he suggested to her Imperial Majesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the justest grounds, the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the Empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the King. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The King finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His Majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the Imperial court of Russia, as well as the

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

B O O K

III.

1757.

observance of its engagements with his Majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire. In such circumstances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath intrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His Majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the King's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his Majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony: and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the King will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the Imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his Majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hosts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

§ VI. When the King of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulic council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the protestant princes, but also of the catholics, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian Majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the Prince de Soubise. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. Next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

B O O K in the evening the mutiny became general. They
III. fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their
1757. general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Mean while, some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the foldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadt-house and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the foldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

§ VII. The King of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched, whilst Mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the same time detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the King of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment commanded by the Duke d'Aremberg and M.

Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell suddenly upon, and took, the important post at Gabel, situated between Bœmish-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under Major-General Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the King then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No

B O O K

III.

1757.

attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

§ VIII. The King's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the Prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune: for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper-Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under Colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of

time four thousand balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames; and saving the place: but in this particular their expectations were disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau: instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandise they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-work. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing

BOOK
III.
1757.

it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

§ IX. The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the King's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his Majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign¹, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin. In the mean time, Mareschal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty

¹ This was the reason that was publicly assigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject: upon which his Majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The Prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the King between Bautzen and Gœrlitz. The Prussian army now re-assembled at this place amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seems obvious: — The Prussian army had been recruited in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war: because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

§ X. It will be proper here to take notice of some events, which could not easily be mentioned before without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history. — The

B O O K

III.

1757.

Empress-Queen, more embittered than ever against the King of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, Count Colorado and Mons. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time Count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give, the King of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her Majesty the Empress-Queen had thought proper to recal her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannic Majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time. On the seventh of July, General Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empress-Queen till further dispositions should be made. The reasons alledged by the court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and

treasures of Great-Britain, were, "That her Imperial Majesty, the Empress-Queen, could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most Christian King, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great-Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the Most Christian King, dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore, her Majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the fore-mentioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great-Britain had, without scruple, openly violated." — Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the ministers of her Imperial Majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings into the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial Majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

B O O K
III.
1757.

July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the Empress-Queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her Majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries. At the same time, their Imperial and Most Christian Majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburgh, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honors of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburgh; and the Empress-Queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone.

§ XI. To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the King of Prussia. The advanced posts of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna were attacked on the tenth of August by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the

loss of several men and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprise. The Pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss. These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only a handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburgh. Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places, and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the Imperialists: the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomernia; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the King of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Königsberg by their squadrons, were

B O O K

III.

1757.

again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation, Field-Mareschal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian King, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, Colonel Malachowski, one of Mareschal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

§ XII. Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies, and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburg-Prussia, Mareschal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he

resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of Mareschal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a most advantageous camp near Nor-kitten, in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Mareschal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigor, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, Mareschal Lehwald, seeing that he could not attempt to carry it without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians little exceeding two thousand killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery, but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

B O O K
III.
1757.

had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon, but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank Count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

§ XIII. After this engagement, Mareschal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterfswald, and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprise of every one retreated out of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Mareschal Apraxin masked his design by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that Mareschal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached Prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the sooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took some of them prisoners, and many stragglers were killed by the country-people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned, though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the
bailiwick

bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to desist from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been destroyed by the violence of the stream. The Russian army suffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it passed, so that they could procure no sort of subsistence but herbage and rye-bread. All the roads were strewn with dead bodies of men and horses. The real cause of this sudden retreat is as great a mystery as the reason of their stopping so long the year before on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the Czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made some new regulation in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government.

§ XIV. The King of Prussia, after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Gœrlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon-shot of it: upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The King formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night.

BOOK

III.

1757.

Next morning, at break of day, the King found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisse; the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left, and before their front, at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than for or five men a breast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry, and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp. The King left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and Pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat. The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, a hundred and thirty thousand strong, more than double the number of the King of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour, but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the Empire, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French

under the Prince de Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Prussian Majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by Mareschal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp, under the Prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipfick, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eisenach, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His Majesty's headquarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus situated, Major-General Seydlitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydlitz, having been re-enforced,

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

B O O K attacked the enemy with such vigor, that he soon
III. obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to
1757. retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the King himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and General Seydlitz sent prisoners to the camp one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about a hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian Majesty advanced near Eisenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly intrenched that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburgh on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha; Erfurth, and Weimar: which last place, however, they soon after quitted.

§ XV. Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of General Winterfeld's troops, being part of the Prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennerdorff, in the neighbourhood of Gœrlitz; and, after being repulsed several times at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss, in this action, was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the

Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave General Winterfeld, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The Generals Nadaſti and Clerici, Count d'Arberg, Colonel Elrickhausen, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Grœsbeck and the Marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colors, and made General Kemeke, the Count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners. After this skirmish, the Prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Gœrlitz to Rothenburgh, then passed the Queiſs at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslaw, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslaw, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of General Winterfeld was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian Majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

BOOK

III.

1757.

§ XVI. A body of the French, who, let loose against the King of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of Count Horn, whom Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops with which his Prussian Majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the Count of Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a considerable re-enforcement from Mareschal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, Prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising activity of their king, now drew nearer and menaced them on all sides. Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and a hundred squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and Imperialists, being joined by six thousand men under General Laudon, who had just defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Weisfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pome-

rania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin, and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the Prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslaw. In the mean time, they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which his Prussian Majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the Prince of Anhalt Dessau from Leipzick, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

§ XVII. While these precautions were taking, General Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs, but before they could do any further mischief they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the Queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of

BOOK

III.

1757.

the Havel and the Spre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzick now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master. The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of his King, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented, but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigors of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian Majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the same time, a rumor was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect were soon abated, by his Majesty's declaring that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of security for the

payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigor than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

C H A P.

VIII.

1757.

§ XVIII. The King of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the Princes Saxe-Hilburghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving Marschal Keith, with only seven or eight thousand men, to defend Leipzick. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the Marschal to surrender, to which he answered, That the King, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city; but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the King of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues

B O O K

III.

1757.

asunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzick; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was re-assembled on the twenty seventh of October, and remained at Leipzick the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth the King drew nigh that place, and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Merseburgh, he made five hundred men prisoners of war. The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Merseburgh, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges, but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over-against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard the drums beating the march, and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design, and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut: but it was soon perceived that their several motions were contradictory to each

other. At the same time that some of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that, the cavalry were seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Merseburgh, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this situation the King of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his Majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed

BOOK
III.
1757.

over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution, but the Prussian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valor of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides.

They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them, and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The King of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reason the King thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Meincke, and among the latter Prince Henry and General Seydlitz. The enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colors, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggons were sent to Leipzick,

B O O K laden with wounded French and Swiss. Upon
III. the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg,
1757. the enemy retreated with great precipitation;
 and, after marching all night, arrived the next
 day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every
 necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread
 for two days, during which they had been obliged
 to live upon turneps, radishes, and other roots,
 which they dug out of the earth. The French,
 under the Duke de Richelieu, were preparing to
 go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of
 this defeat of the combined army, they again put
 themselves in motion, and a large detachment of
 them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favor the
 retreat of their countrymen under the Prince de
 Soubise, who, with great precipitancy, made the
 best of their way from Erfurth to the country of
 Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march to-
 wards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial
 army, which was now almost entirely dispersed,
 whole bodies deserted, and went over to the King
 of Prussia, soon after this battle.

§ XIX. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was thus
 successful against the French and Imperialists, the
 Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an
 open engagement with him, gained ground a-pace
 in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the
 command of Count Nadaſti, had already invested
 Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on
 the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian garrison,
 commanded by General de la Mothe Fouquet,
 determined to defend the place as long as possible;
 and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally,

in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong intrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadaſti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareſchal Daun, who, whilst he was buſied in the ſiege of Schweidnitz, had inveſted Breſlaw on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now re-aſſembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the King of Pruſſia's late victory near Leipzick, but alſo that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was reſolved immediately to attack the laſt in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceaſing till one, when it was ſucceeded by a ſevere fire of their ſmall arms, which laſted till five in the evening. The Pruſſians, with undaunted reſolution, ſtood two of the moſt

BOOK violent attacks that were made, but at the third,
III. overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides,
1757. they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals fearing their intrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslaw, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the King had come up to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner². His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward

² We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the Prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoitring the enemy, with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the King his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslaw, by quitting his lines, which, it is asserted, his Prussian Majesty had sent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we shall find he kept his word. that

that night, leaving in Breslaw only four battalions, who, the next day, surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honors, conducted by General Leswitz, governor of Breslaw. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army, for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians were General Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their General Kleist was found dead on the field of the battle.

§ XX. The King of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, stayed no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumburgh

B O O K

III.

1757.

on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Marefchal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a service which he performed so effectually as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. His Majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslaw, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their King upon his march'. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy,

' Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the King himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the Prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his Majesty's march; and at the same time, this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added like wiseto its confidence, for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.

he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa, near Breslaw. On the fourth of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his Majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Ziethen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Ziethen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the King's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed: for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the King two German miles from their intrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, General Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the King with what he had discovered, and his Majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch

BOOK

III.

1757.

for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of Count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the King made overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind

the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that General Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps of reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen, this general's horſe attacked the King's right wing with great fury: but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diſorder. The enemy gave way on all ſides, but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. Every time they made a ſtand, the Pruſſians attacked them with redoubled vigor, and with ſucceſs equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, ſtill retreating, fell into diſorder. Their two wings fled in confuſion; one of them, cloſely preſſed by the King, retired towards Breſlaw, and took ſhelter under the cannon of that city; the other, purſued by the greateſt part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thouſand Auſtrians fell in this engagement, and the Pruſſians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thouſand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thouſand of the enemy priſoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety - one officers. They alſo took a hundred and ſixteen cannon, fifty one colors and ſtandards, and four thouſand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The conſequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with aſtoniſhment, that the ſame prince, who but a few months before ſeemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own

CHAP.
V. I.
1757.

B O O K abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one except himself thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the Empire at Rosbach on the fifth of November, and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslaw, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it, but the King, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslaw surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege,

a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared to a small army, and whilst that continued so, the King of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his Majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly as the rigor of the season would permit*. It was not, however, till the beginning of the ensuing campaign that this place was taken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein: the commandant capi-

* Such was the rigor of the season, that some hundreds of the sentinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers, and indeed this practice of winter campaigns in such a cold country bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

BOOK

III.

1757.

tulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia which the King of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the Empress-Queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

§ XXI. The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the King of Prussia, and, in consequence, of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "That the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed

to receive the public revenue in that country must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish Majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline." After this declaration they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honor, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand, General Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stettin, to cover that place, published in answer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the King of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

§ XXII. In the mean time, Mareschal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when

CHAP.

VIII.

1757.

BOOK

III.

1757.

the Russians began their retreat, detached Prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed, with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wollin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the second day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took a hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Marechal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time, Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of

Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Swinnemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The Prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Greifswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of a hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favorable treatment for his dominions: but his Swedish Majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was

BOOK

III.

1757.

one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favor of a prince who had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted with his troops a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council too, seeing, or pretending to see, the behaviour of the Landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his Serene Highness towards the end of this year.

§ XXIII. The court of Great-Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so: but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French drew upon their High Mightinesses a further remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by Colonel Yorke, his Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria: — “ Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to

embroil all Europe, the King of Great-Britain was willing to flatter himself that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands. It was with the utmost surprise the King heard, that, without any previous consent of your's, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his Majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses. The King never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your High Mightinesses will have perceived, that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the Empress-Queen stood in of the

B O O K

III.

1757.

troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, High and Mighty Lords, it is but too evident that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier-towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King's attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great-Britain and Holland require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights. The King commands me, therefore, to recal to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: ' It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholic Majesty,

shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the Most Christian King, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France. In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: 'His Imperial and Catholic Majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions of the House of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States General.' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High Mightinesses: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your High Mightinesses easy

B O O K on that head, by openly explaining themselves to
III. a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you
1757. indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands. The King hath so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your High Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his Majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonstrance had the desired effect upon the States-General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

§ XXIV. The King of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the risque of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian Majesty is said to have written an
 expostulatory

expostulatory letter^s to the King of Great-Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the King of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacts or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great-Britain declared, that the overtures made by his Majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks

^s The letter, which was written in French, we have translated, for the reader's satisfaction.

“ I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your Majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your Majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your Majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.”

BOOK

III.

1757.

received on the continent, should have no influence on his Majesty as king: that he saw in the same light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connexion the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France, in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that, whatever might be the success of his arms, his Majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the King of Prussia in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the King of Prussia that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian Majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigor. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which like an indulgent nurse hath always presented the nipple to her meager German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprise, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they

remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connexions.

§ XXV. His Britannic Majesty was resolved that the King of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with a very unfavorable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army in their retreat before the enemy were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy-council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of altercation. The general complained that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles. The former saw

BOOK

III.

1757.

the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty: while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the King of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favorable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill-usage to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as

a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negotiation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great-Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great-Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the King of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befel that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular were re-enforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, published a declaration, observing, "That his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all

BOOK
III.
1757.

the conditions of the convention ; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above , and lay down their arms ; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war , under which quality alone they could be disarmed : that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only ; and , indeed , it was originally nothing more , but as they had expressly disowned its validity , and a negociation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries , upon certain conditions , though the French general would never answer categorically , but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles , the nature of that act was totally changed , and what was at first an agreement between general and general was now become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles : that , however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover , his Britannic Majesty would have acquiesced in them , had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army , and his dominions ; and , by the most outrageous conduct , freed his Britannic Majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention : that in the midst of the armistice the most open hostilities had been committed : the castle of Scharzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged , and the garrison made prisoners of war : the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored , according to an express article stipulated between the generals ,

though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the bailiffs of those districts from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue: the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation." — Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannic Majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannic Majesty. The truth is, the King of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his

CHAP. VII. 1757. concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army. The Duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to Prince Ferdinand, specifying, That although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been established between the Duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the King his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood: with that view he declared to his Serene Highness, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help apprising his Serene Highness, that if his army should take any equivocal step, and, still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorized

so to do by the rules of war: that he would set fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his Serene Highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was seconded by the Count de Lynar the Danish Ambassador, who had mediated the convention, Prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating, that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

§ XXVI. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenburgh: and, in a few days after this action,

B O O K another happened upon the river Aller, between
III. two considerable bodies of each army, in which the
1757. Hanoverians, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harburgh. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December Prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannic Majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by Prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the Orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horror, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops on divers occasions, and in different parts of

the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcilable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly intrenched, that Prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time, his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachments, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought from the out-parties with various success. Their Imperial Majesties were no sooner apprized of these transactions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister from the King of Great-Britain as Elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again was, in some measure, alleviated by

BOOK the certain tidings received from Petersburg, that
 III. the Czarina had signed her accession in form to the
 1757. treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and
 Stockholm.

§ XXVII. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the distresses of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandise which were deemed contraband by all nations. — The operations at sea, during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great-Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of

which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valor. The Duc d'Acquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and, about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valor. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valor in the pursuit of national glory.

§ XXVIII. Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of Captain

- B O O K** William Death, equipped with twenty - six carriage-guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the
 111. twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made
 1757. prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England, but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty - six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily re-taken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible, whose main-mast was shot away by the first broad-side. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant Captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible into St. Maloes.
- There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer, the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by Captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea-rencounter, that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, Captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the *Melampe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the *Countess of Gramont*; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by Captain Saumarez, commander of the *Antelope*. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

§ XXIX. On the first day of December, the King of Great-Britain opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expense of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His Majesty graciously declared. That it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the opening of the session, that his success in

BOOK

III.

1757.

carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigor of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which, he trusted, might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardor of his parliament for his Majesty's honor and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniences, and in this cause he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the King of Prussia might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the Commons he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had already

already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service, and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful economy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom, he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. The time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country-party in the House of Commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service. They would have inquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to protract

BOOK the burden of a continental war. They would have
 111. owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them,
 1757. and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great-Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the least prospect of advantage. They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the economy to be used in managing the national expense; finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the sovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and those happy days were now approaching that saw the Commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a

German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

C H A P.

VIII.

1758.

§ XXX. To the speech of his Majesty the House of Lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The Commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardor, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued. Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the House, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expense of the Ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the Commons, they now allotted four millions, twenty-two thousand, eight hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings, and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his Majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and

BOOK
III.
1718.

actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds : for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand, four hundred twenty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight-pence : towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds, seventeen shillings, and eleven pence: towards building, re-building, and repairs of his Majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds ; for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great-Britain, for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence threefarthings. To the Foundling-hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for

making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand, five hundred and thirty-six pounds, four shillings, and nine pence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckenburgh, together with that of general and staff-officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds, six shillings, and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand, nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expenses, contingencies, and losses whatsoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his Majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary

BOOK

III.

1758.

expenses of the land - forces , and other services , incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand, four hundred fifty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea - hospital ; above twenty thousand for the expense of maintaining the colonies of Nova - Scotia and Georgia ; for re-imbur-sing to the province of Massachusetts - Bay , and the colony of Connecticut, their expense in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his Majesty's service , in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty - six, the sum of forty - one thousand, one hundred, seventeen pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence half-penny ; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish-church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, they allotted twenty - nine thousand pounds. The East-India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given , as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa;

and eleven thousand, four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-six thousand, four hundred fifty-seven pounds, and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favor of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million, eight hundred sixty-one thousand, eight hundred ninety-seven pounds, four shillings, and eight-pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the sum granted to the King for extraordinary expenses might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expense incurred by expeditions to the coast of France, the

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

BOOK
III.
1758.

chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favor of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favor of Great-Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great-Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great-Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruiser would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West-Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great-Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

§ XXXI. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realize those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the Exchequer produced from the sinking fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking fund should be a collateral security' — one million, six hundred and

' It was enacted. That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery-tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each, the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions, five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July, in the present year, which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should chuse to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the Bank,

CHAP.

VIII.

1753.

B O O K

III.

1758.

fix thousand, and seventy - six pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund — a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great-Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his Majesty in Great-Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds — an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling - house inhabited within the kingdom of Great-Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April — an additional tax of six pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling - house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail - cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of British gun - powder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar-colonies as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the House of Commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise: that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar-plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expense — an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver-plate, in lieu of the duty of six pence per ounce on all silver-plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, assayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined — a cessation of all draw-backs payable on the exportation of silver-plate — a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wines, without having first procured a licence for that purpose — and a loan by Exchequer-bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions, seventy-nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six-shillings, and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand, two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings, and nine-pence, so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of a House of Commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions, three hundred and sixty-seven thousand, two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in christendom.

BOOK

III.

1758.

§ XXXII. The liberality of the parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the Commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his Majesty, communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary Pitt, signifying, That the King had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigor against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the King of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian Majesty, could be laid before the House, the King, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the protestant religion and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the House the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his Majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the Speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his Majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural

concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States-General of the United-Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the protestant religion, would surely have lent a helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would now join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other protestant states of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandizement of the catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

BOOK. church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any protestant state or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general lukewarmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the King, as this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should

subsist *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaisance, which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

C H A P.
VIII.
1758.

§ XXXIII. So fully persuaded were the ministry that the Commons would chearfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Prussian Majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great-Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy-counsellors who had any share in the administration*. This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imported. "That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for the reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the

* These were, Sir Robert Henley, lord keeper of the great seal; John Earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the Treasury; Robert Earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq. another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, Baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Louis Michel his resident and chargé d'affaires.

BOOK

III.

1758.

Germanic body, his Britannic Majesty had from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian Majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious, and their Majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorized their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations: — The King of Great-Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such person as should be authorized to receive it by his Prussian Majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian Majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security, proposed by their said Majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The Commons having presented an address to his Majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the House, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great-Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all-necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: that if a proper use were made of this valuable, though long-neglected harbour, the distressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary

BOOK

III.

1758.

progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence that a bill was framed, and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the Commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn duty free should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the House a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and enacted

into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole House, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

§ XXXV. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the Lower House, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the Lords, who, by divers messages to the House of Commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality, and the House unanimously resolved that a message

B O O K

III.

1758.

should be sent to the Lords, acquainting them that the House of Commons not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the House would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the House of Lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill; the Commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The Lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the Commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the House of Lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed: and the bill having passed through their House, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his Majesty's assent. The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature. The power vested by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army: for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament;

whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants, and manufacturers of silk, offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced and the good end and purpose of the act in a great

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

BOOK measure frustrated: they, therefore, prayed leave to
III. bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all
1758, such fine Italian organzine silk as should appear to
 have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for
 London, on or before the first day of December.
 The petition being referred to a committee, which
 reported that these allegations were true, the House
 complied with their request, and the bill having
 passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A
 speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny-
 bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the
 marine forces, which contained nothing new or
 extraordinary. A committee being appointed to in-
 quire what laws were already expired, or near expir-
 ing, they performed this difficult task with indefati-
 gable patience and perseverance; and in pursuance of
 their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed
 into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time,
 and rendering others perpetual.

Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the
 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine.
 An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed
 in disguise. A clause in the act of the 6th of George II. to
 prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and another
 clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-
 binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for
 punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. The tempo-
 rary part of the act of 20th of George II. for taking away the
 hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of
 appealing to circuit-courts. Those continued were, I. An act
 of the 12th of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars,
 &c. until the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year one
 thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of

the year, & not continued by a new act of parliament.

§ XXXVI. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the House of Commons, alledging that the toll upon loaded vessels, or other craft, passing through the arches of London-Bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious, and insufficient to defray the expense, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This,

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

the next session of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals. &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder-roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British-made gun-powder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the sugar-colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And, VIII. so much of the act of the 15th and 16th of Geo. II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

B O O K however, was opposed by a petition from several
III. persons, owners of barges, and other craft navigat-
1758. ing the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill
 should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be
 extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular,
 and to the public in general. These were heard by
 their counsel before the committee, but no report
 was yet given, when the temporary bridge was re-
 duced to ashes. Then the mayor, aldermen, and
 commons of London presented another petition,
 alledging, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in
 them by act of parliament, they had already demolish-
 ed a good number of the houses on London-Bridge,
 and directed the rest that were standing to be taken
 down with all convenient expedition, that two of
 the arches might be laid into one for the improvement
 of the navigation; that they had, at a very great
 expense, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to
 preserve a public passage to and from the city, until
 the great arch could be finished, which temporary
 bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it
 with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable
 expense; that the sum necessary for carrying on and
 completing this great and useful work, including the
 rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimat-
 ed at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improv-
 ing, widening, and enlarging London-Bridge was
 calculated for the general good of the public, for
 the advancement of trade and commerce, and for
 making the navigation upon the river Thames
 more safe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the
 House to take the premises into consideration. This

petition being recommended by his Majesty to the consideration of the House, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-Bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-Bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burdensome to trade; but this encumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-Bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his Majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labor under; they alledged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which

C H A P.

VIII.

1758.

B O O K they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it
III. without any toll: or if they should not be thought
1758. adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency
 would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the House. The bill being, on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent.

§ XXXVII. The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon inquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tithe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, entitled. "An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of certain servants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily

accumalating in England : in no other country is there so much money raised for their support: by private charity, as well as public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration. — The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced were now grown so infamously open and intolerable: and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, and Lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, “ An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great-Britain called England. ” The preamble specified, That though, by an act

BOOK

III.

1758.

passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, presumed to vote at such elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, in the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature^{1°}. So far the

^{1°} For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licence, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

§ XXXVIII. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the House to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his Majesty's land-forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his Majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices, maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his Majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and ineffectual encumbrance on

BOOK

III.

1758.

commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. — Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant law-suits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other encumbrances, that might affect any honors, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those land-holders whose estates were encumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage under which they labored would be exactly known.—The next object to which the House converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fish-mongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffic gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition.

Inquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the Lower House, was conveyed to the Lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

§ XXXIX. The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his Majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his Majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas corpus, passed in the reign of Charles the Second, this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act,

C H A P.
VIII.
1758.

B O O K

III.

1718.

seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject, upon the writ of habeas - corpus, was prepared, and presented to the House of Commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas - corpus, in cases of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any color or pretence whatsoever: that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, a habeas - corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas - corpus granted in the vacation - time, under the authority of this act, might

might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The Commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: but in the House of Lords such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that House in the next session.

§ XL. His Majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling-Hospital to the House of Commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expense of it appeared worthy of further consideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but before the House could take the report into consideration the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which

B O O K

III.

1752.

had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expense at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the House should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honor of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power, the House, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, in-somuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses: but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

§ XLI. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstances of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings

of parliament. In the beginning of this session, Lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the House, by his Majesty's command, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that House, was in arrest for disobedience of his Majesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The Commons immediately resolved, That an address should be presented to his Majesty, returning him the thanks of this House for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the House, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a message from his Majesty, was presented to the House, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in, and trading to the British sugar-colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading on that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners,

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

BOOK

III.

1758.

prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar-colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave-trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast: they, therefore, prayed that this part of the act might be repealed; that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his Majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners. The House having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved,

That the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea, would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition¹¹.

§ XLII. The longest and warmest debate, which was maintained in the course of this session, arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future parliaments; a measure

¹¹ Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the House, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine-salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risk and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the House a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table, afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which, however, made no report. — A circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the House of Commons were of opinion that such an enterprise might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing ale-houses, which was read for the first time: but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

BOOK
III.
1758.

truly patriotic, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing such an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of corruption and venality. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great-Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick succession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the sovereign's predilection for the interest of Hanover. Other committees were established, to inquire into the expense incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England; consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The Commons were perfectly satisfied with the new

works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, but no further progress was made in this inquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the House, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. On the ninth day of June sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his Majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both Houses, expressing his Majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honor and real interest in all parts, in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty, in their ardor to maintain the war with the utmost vigor; proofs which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand that the King had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes; that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements;

C H A P.

VIII.

1758.

BOOK that the British fleets and armies were now actually
III. employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to
1758. annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great-Britain. The Commons were thanked for ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given, and assured on the part of his Majesty that they should be managed with the most frugal economy. They were desired, in consequence of the King's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures, and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

§ XLIII. Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigor and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great-Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government-loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit

of enterprize and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace: such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honor and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the least appearance of any danger could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one general in North-America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: he observed, that with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a King and ministry

BOOK
III.
1758.

ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commander in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the public, but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army. All sorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and dispatch as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by

a general concern form the death of his Majesty's third daughter, the Princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

C H A P.

VIII.

1758.

§ XLIV. The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one Captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her a-board, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by Capt. Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the board of Admiralty received information from Admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in

BOOK the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*,
 III. under the command of the Captains Suckling and
 1758. Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French Squadron under Kerfin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary, to insure success. He re-enforced his Squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (said he) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French Squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great

impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honor was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favor of the land-breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kerfin had taken his departure from Cape-François for

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

B O O K

III.

1758.

Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then presented the Admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and Captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the Admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape-Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colors, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period Captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this

prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colors. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted, and the Mars made sail, in hopes of escaping, but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

§ XLV. The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North-America, Admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran a-ground. and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month,

B O O K Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Biscay
 III. with another squadron, in order to intercept any
 1758. supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or
 Canada; and about the same time, the town of
 Embden, belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which
 had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly
 retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes,
 stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small
 ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the
 city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand
 seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off
 from all communication with the country below,
 abandoned the place with great precipitation, and
 some of their baggage being sent off by water, was
 taken by the boats which the Commodore armed for
 that purpose. It was in the same month that the Ad-
 miralty received advice of another advantage by sea,
 which had been gained by Admiral Osborne, while
 he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagená on
 the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of
 March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded
 by the Marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships,
 namely, the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, the Orphée,
 of sixty-four, the Oriflamme, of fifty, and the Pleiade
 frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Tou-
 lon to re-enforce M. de la Clue, who had for some
 time been blocked up by Admiral Osborne in the har-
 bour of Carthagená. The enemy no sooner per-
 ceived the English squadron than they dispersed,
 and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne
 detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he
 himself,

himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagen, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the *Orphée*, having on board five hundred men, struck to Captain Storr, in the *Revenge*, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships *Berwick* and *Preston*. The *Monmouth*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with four score cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the Marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant Captain Gardener lost his life; nevertheless, the fight was continued with unabating vigor by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the *Foudroyant* disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the *Swiftsure* and the *Hampton-Court*, appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The *Oriflamme* was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships *Montague* and *Monarque*, commanded by the Captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the *Pleiade* frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer. This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great-Britain, and the disaster was followed close by

BOOK

III.

1758.

another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlements in North-America. They no sooner saw the English Admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but the greater number ran into shoal-water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broad-sides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor a-breast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships *Intrepid* and *Medway* with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy, but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing-tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ships, under the

protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's, in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebeck, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the loss of Captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honor in the service of their country.

§ XLVI. On the twenty-ninth day of May the *Raisonable*, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by Captain Dennis, in the *Dorsetshire*, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the Prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging. These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befel the ship *Prince George*, of eighty guns, com-

B O O K

III.

1758.

manded by Rear-Admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore-part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the Admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The Admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern-ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney sloop. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke; nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of phrenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful,

by plunging into the sea, and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the Admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

§ XLVII. The King of Great-Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the services of this expedition, the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke: the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grand-father, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion, he was assisted by the councils of Lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the Duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of

B O O K extraordinary genius and uncommon application.
 III. The troops, having been encamped for some time
 1758. upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter
 end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea: Lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while Commodore Howe, with the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancele, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further opposition, on the sixth day of June. The Duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several

privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancale, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the Duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic Majesty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own King, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off

BOOK

III.

1758.

their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Maloes he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes, he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters, to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small store-house to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district. The British forces being re-embarked, including about five hundred light-horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet

was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Can-
calle for several days , during which a design seems
to have been formed for attacking Granville , which
had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers : but,
in consequence of their report , the scheme was laid
aside , and the fleet stood out to sea , where it was
exposed to some rough weather. In a few days , the
wind blowing in a northern direction , they steered
again towards the French coast , and ran in with the
land near Havre-de-Grace , where the flat-bottomed
boats , provided for landing , were hoisted out , and
a second disembarkation expected. But the wind
blowing violently towards the evening , the boats
were re-shipped , and the fleet obliged to quit the
land , in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore.
Next day , the weather being more moderate , they
returned to the same station , and orders were given
to prepare for a descent ; but the Duke of Marlbo-
rough having taken a view of the coast in an open
cutter , accompanied by Commodore Howe , thought
proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was
to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg , in the
neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to
anchor. Here some of the transports received the
fire of six different batteries ; and a considerable
body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the
landing ; nevertheless , the general resolved that
the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet should
be attacked in the night by the first regiment of
guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in
the flat-bottomed boats , and every preparation
made for this enterprize , when the wind began
to blow with such violence , that the troops

BOOK

III.

1758.

could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside, but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly, but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly upon the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favorable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the issue of an enterprise achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favor of German allies, by alarming the French King, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

§ XLVIII. The designs upon the coast of France though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were

not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his Royal Highness Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service. The remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the

B O O K

III.

1758.

enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While these ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and, landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half-way, and a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piqueered with the advanced posts of the English. In the mean time, the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence

that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and la Gallet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money

BOOK

III.

1758.

had been expended upon the harbour and basin of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light-horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light-horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and basin of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation, concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light-horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On

the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Gallet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

CHAP.

VIII.

1758.

§ XLIX. This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunnair, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Maloes, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: but St. Maloes itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land-batteries, and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channels besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the basin was, moreover, strengthened

B O O K

III.

1758.

by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloes was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

§ L. On Friday the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in
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the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the Duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lamballe, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking: for this reason a proposal was made to the General, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strong of blind security and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption: but, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles,

BOOK

III.

1758.

the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore, to cover the re-embarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats-crews, and regulate the service; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow-way on their left, with design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of

the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion; but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping,

B O O K

III.

1758.

as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havoc was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the

fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war hath subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will

BOOK

III.

1758.

be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draft-horses; work in their own persons as day-laborers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war: and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of

pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all sense of honor, and of shame: they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers; in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonor, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expense of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French King to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great-Britain, and secure its coast from invasion; but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expense, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate

B O O K

III.

1758.

point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the general, in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Maloes was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating by beat of drum his midnight-motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the Duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favored with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spit-head, and the soldiers were disembarked.

§ LI. The success of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were

precipitated to the abyfs of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage; they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by Lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed. In the month of

CHAP.
VIII.
1758.

BOOK

III.

1758.

November the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, Captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colors, and without firing a shot surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.—By *this* time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the King of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the Admiralty promised, in the *Gazette*, a reward of five hundred pounds,

without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

C H A P.

VIII.

1758.

§ LII. The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigor and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamor against the English, for having by these captures violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great-Britain and the Republic. Remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented, that the King his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume

B O O K a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that
III. he expected from their known justice, and the alliance
1758. by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contreband-commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candor and moderation; declared his Majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them, that his Britannic Majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

§ LIII. These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation: while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had sustained from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect.

Such was the memorial delivered by the Count d'Affry, intimating that the Empress-Queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French King, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her Imperial Majesty think proper. The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high coloring in a memorial to the States-General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their High Mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princess Gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them

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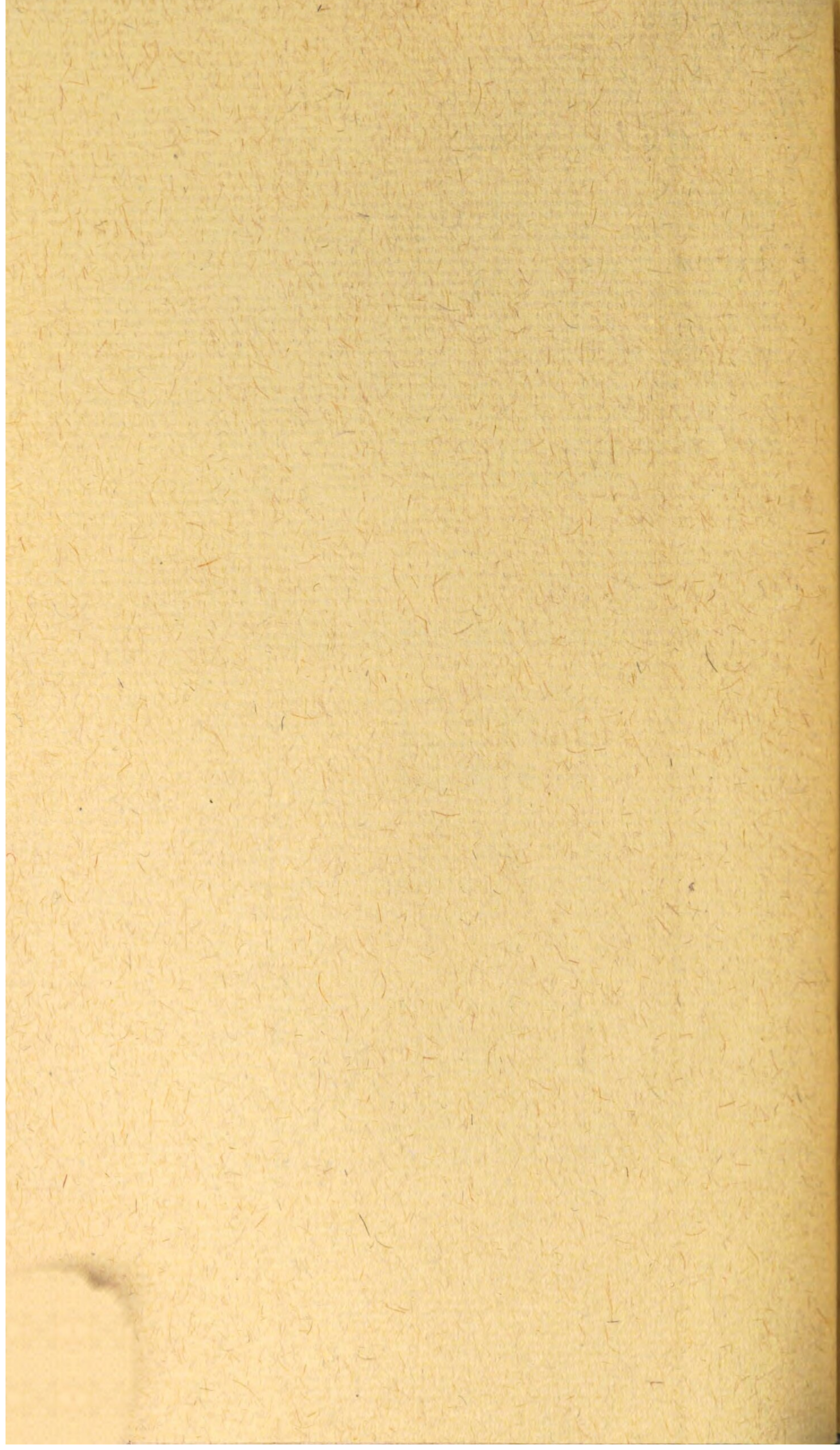
from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France, against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time, she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing councils were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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